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THE CONDITION OF IMMORTALITY.

The world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever:—(I John ii, 17.)

THE simplest, strongest and most primitive instinct of human nature is the craving for immortality. All that a man hath will he give for his life. A man of strong vitality would rather exist in misery than not exist at all. This craving for immortality has been planted in the heart by God for a great purpose. It is one of the strongest motives to right living. All that is great and enduring in human character and human achievement is rooted in it. Christianity itself is founded upon it. Christ came into the world that He might satisfy our longing for immortality. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."

It has become the fashion of recent years to say that 'eternal' refers to quality and not to quantity; that it is not the length of life 'eternal' denotes but the nature of it. One of the leaders of the 'higher life' school some time ago declared that the New Testament nowhere speaks of the length of the life eternal, but only of its quality. Such a view is quite erroneous. On the contrary, it is the enduring character of eternal life which is most prominently presented in the New Testament. Our Lord says "If a man keep my saying he shall *never see death*" (John viii, 51) and again, "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me *shall never die*." And Paul declares that death shall be swallowed up of victory and we shall be *for ever* with the Lord. And in our text John contrasts the everlasting character of this life with the temporal character of the life and glory of the world. "The world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever."

Christ has made use of our craving for length of life as a motive to impel us to seek quality of life, by teaching us that length and quality are inseparable. The desire for an endless life is natural; but the desire for a good life is not. And Christ teaches us to seek a good life, because it is the only way to immortality. There is an endless life. The craving for immortality is not in vain. Christ comes to satisfy the deepest longings of our hearts. 'Come to me,' He says, 'and I will give you life—life that shall never end. You seek life in wrong ways. You follow paths that lead to death and disappointment. You take hold on this world with passionate eagerness; but in the world there is nothing lasting, nothing satisfying. The world is passing and the lust of it. If you try to fill your heart with it, it will leave you at last empty and desolate. Give your heart to God and His service. He changes not. He will satisfy your soul for ever.'

Love not the world. Let us not misunderstand this. It does not mean that we are not to love at all the world that God has made and in which He has placed us. There is a wicked world which we must hate; and even to the world of God we must not give the supreme love of our hearts. That must be reserved for God. You will understand more clearly what I mean, if you consider what Christ says in the sixth chapter of John: "Labour not," He says, "for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life." He does not mean that you are not to work for your daily bread. On the contrary, He declares that if a man work not, neither should he eat. To eat is a natural necessity of life; and to work for our food is a Christian duty. But there is a higher, a more important duty—the duty of sustaining our spiritual life. In comparison with this duty the other sinks into insignificance. But men put the less before the greater. Absorbed in the sordid eagerness to make provision for their bodily appetites, they forget they have souls to keep alive. Christ puts things in their true proportions. What is the bodily life, after all, compared with the life of the soul? If we are to be indifferent to anything, let it be to our bodies rather. Let us follow with passionate earnestness what makes for the welfare of our souls. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life. The supreme object of our striving should be to secure the supreme end of life. So the supreme love of the heart belongs to God. To this all other affections should be subordinate. In the Bible the most common

figure for the relation between God and His people is that of marriage, because marriage implies a unique relationship and a unique love. That kind of love cannot be shared. So with our love to God. It is unique. It is supreme. It is dominant. In this sense we are not to love the world, not even what is finest and best in it.

This does not imply, however, that we are not to love the world at all. On the contrary, he who loves God loves the world profoundly and unselfishly. The love of God fills the heart with light and gives it enlarged capacity for love in all directions. When we love God, we love the world because it is His world. We love this earth, with all its grandeur and beauty, because God made it and His greatness and goodness are reflected in it. We love the men that are in it, rich and poor, cultured and uncultured, civilized and uncivilized, because they are all of the one family and have at least the possibility of the Christ-life. We love the world's work because it is ordained of God. Do not let us believe for a moment that God is jealous of our love for the world, for our work, for our friends. Such an idea is alien to the religion of Christ. It is one of the dark superstitions that grew up in the times of ignorance and it still throws its horrible shadow over half mankind. God is jealous only for our good, and all His warnings are intended not to impoverish our life or paralyse our natural affections, but to save us from wasting the resources of our life and bringing ourselves at last to utter bankruptcy. In God our natural affections are quickened and broadened and purified and made eternal. "I could not love thee half so much, loved I not honour more," says the poet. For 'honour,' read 'God,' and you have an expression of a great truth. Speaking of human love Christina Rossetti says :—

I love, as you would have me, God the most :
* * * * * * *
Yet, while I love my God the most, I deem
That I can never love you overmuch ;
I love Him more, so let me love you too ;
Yea, as I apprehend it, love is such
I cannot love you if I love not Him,
I cannot love Him if I love not you.

But there is a world that is not God's, the world that is the creation of an evil imagination. This is the world against which the Bible warns us. The world, as God made it, is all right ; it is the

world as man's perverted passions make it, that is all wrong. The lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the vainglory of life—these are what produce the corruption and violence and misery of the world. They lead to degradation and disappointment and death; death of natural affection, death of all honourable feelings and noble aspirations, death at last of all capacity even for enjoyment. When we take a calm view of life and consider the career of the drunkard, the voluptuary, the egoist, and the ambitious, we cannot help seeing the evil they bring on themselves and on others. In our quiet moments we realise with deep repugnance the horror of this evil world, created by the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.

And yet, in spite of its horror, that world has for most of us an inveterate fascination, like the fabled fascination of the snake. Though we know it means death; though we see it choking the life out of its victims with its strong folds, or biting them with its poison-tooth into mad raging fever that ends in delirium and death; still its fascination drags us, and the hoary lie that has deceived men through all the centuries deceives us still, "Ye shall not surely die." This lie that deceives the imagination is whispered everywhere, and we all of us at least partly believe it. It mixes with all our thoughts; it affects all our emotions and aspirations and hopes; it perverts all our deeds. How much vainglory lurks behind the best deeds of even the best men! How incorrigible is the folly of the human heart! When shall we learn to guide our life by reason? How long shall we labour for that which cannot satisfy, and has no endurance? What we take for a solid world is merely a mirage, that appears in advance a cool pool of water in which we shall quench our burning thirst, but which flies for ever in advance, leaving us only a burning thirst in a parched desert. The world passeth.

The earth itself is passing away. It is growing old. Each winter as it comes round, with its image of death, is a foreshadowing of its coming end, when its life-history shall be wound up and perpetual winter brood over it.

> And like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And like an insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a wrack behind.

But for us the world is much more rapidly passing away. However distasteful the thought may be, however much we try like the ostrich to hide ourselves from death by burying our heads in the world's occupations, we are inevitably being carried along to the inevitable end. The days and years are passing. The end is creeping nearer, nearer, and the day is approaching when the eager heart must relax its passionate hold on this world, and allow it to go. The world will still go on its way, and other hearts will beat to its fascinations and exult in its life, be distracted by its passions, and puffed up by its vainglory; but for us it will have passed away, and we shall have passed away for it.

And the lust of the world and its vainglory are passing away more rapidly still. They do not last even for the short span of man's earthly life. Men who live to any age in this world outlive their passions and ambitions. The Israelites in the wilderness lusted for flesh to eat and they got quails; and while they were eating them they were struck with a plague. This lust turned into loathing. That is a parable of life. Men are carried along with greedy desires for unlawful pleasures, and in the attainment their desires turn to disgust; or sickness lays its hand on them and their passions pass away like a dream; or age overtakes them and their desires wither like the grass in time of drought. The most lasting thing in the world, perhaps, is the pride of life, but even this fails the most of men before the end of life. Reverses of fortune hurl them from the heights to which they had laboriously climbed; or the attainment of their ambition has proved the emptiness and worthlessness of what they had so passionately pursued. What, after all, are the pride and pomp of life to a reasonable soul? How insecure in life, how incapable of giving consolation at death, how insignificant in view of eternity! The most brilliant worldly career that has not the will of God in it is but as a meteor that shoots for a moment across the sky and is swallowed up in endless night. To do the will of God, that is the whole sum of our duty in this world. That is the condition of citizenship in the Kingdom of God, as our Lord declares. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." It is true that it is through faith we are saved; but it is a faith that *worketh* through love. It is not sentiment or dreaming that saves us. It is work. There is grave danger in the widespread tendency to regard religion as a matter mainly of

feeling. I overheard a good lady say of a preacher whose sermon appeared to me inspiring—"He gave us a cold sermon." Perhaps that is what we most need. Doctors tell us that we have suffered physically from a morbid craving for warmth and comfort in our domestic habits, and they are proclaiming that health and strength and vitality are to be recovered by exposing ourselves to the bracing influence of the open air. So, I imagine, we must get out of the close morbid air of sentimental and sensational religionism to the open air of God's working world, where healthy life is always cool. The stones on which fall the rays of the sun are hot because the energy of these rays is not assimilated, but the trees and grass and flowers are cool because the energy of the sun's rays is by them assimilated and transformed into vital functions. Feeling is worse than useless unless it be associated with right activity.

To do the will of God,—that is the true object of life, and doing the will of God is not a mere passive acquiescence, a mere yielding of ourselves to the current of events as if that were the will of God That is the theory of the world that has paralysed life in the East. An American doctor whom I know told me that one day in a town on the west coast of the Persian Gulf he came on a group of people looking at the water where a man had sunk out of sight. He dived in and pulled the man out and set about restoring him to consciousness. It was a scorchingly hot day, and the sun's rays went through him like spears. He begged some of them to come and help him, but they looked on with stolid indifference. If it was God's will that the man should recover, he would recover; if it was His will he should die, he should die.

This fatalistic view of God's will is creeping into men's ways of thinking in other countries also. I noticed that a man who was executed lately for murder professed repentance and a hope of heaven, and spoke of his crime as God's will since He had not prevented it. And I have often heard pious persons speak of the greatest crimes and the greatest injustice as God's will. Such expressions have the appearance of deep piety; but they are really pernicious nonsense and blasphemous impiety,—the impiety the Jews of old were condemned for when they said. "We are delivered to do these abominations." It is as if a young man who receives money to pay his class fees that he may be duly educated, should spend it in debauchery and then say it was his father's will.

We are living in a world where the will of God is often not

done. Therefore it is that Christ has taught to pray, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." And what He asks us to pray for, He commands us also to work for. We are to work for the doing of the will of God, first of all in our own life and then in the world in which we live, so far as we can effect it. But how are we to know the will of God? Well, we learn that gradually. No doubt there is much that is perplexing in the world. And good men who appear to be equally confident that they are following God's will take contrary courses. Paul tells us that, in his pre-Christian days, he was quite conscientious in persecuting the Church of Christ. He thought it was his duty to do it. No one can be sure he is absolutely right. But practically that is not of so much importance as it appears. These great matters do not much affect our life. It is the spirit that animates us that gives our work its value. What does God require of us but "to do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with our God"? Love is the fulfilment of the law. What we need is to bring this principle to bear on our whole work. Christianity is not a cult apart from secular life, but it is the spiritualisation of the secular. One of the best known business men in Scotland once said to a friend of mine, "When I listen to you on Sunday the kingdom of heaven seems a beautiful and glorious possibility; when I return to business on Monday it fades again into an impracticable dream." Let us not, at any rate, deceive ourselves. If we do not at least strive to put our beautiful dreams into action, we had better never have had them. Let us do what we can. We often neglect the possible by hankering after great things. Let us try to do our ordinary duties, the common duties of our daily life, in the Spirit of Christ. These are the things that constitute our life, that determine our character. Through our works we become what we are. They will determine our eternal destiny. It is in actual life true insight comes, true wisdom, enduring character.

JOHN MACKENZIE.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON,

From the first Tamil invasion of the Island to the reign of King Vijaya Bahu of Ceylon.

FROM the distant days of Valmiki when the Indo-Aryans were founding empires on the banks of the Ganges and sending

outposts of a great civilization to the unknown south, the Island of Lanka has been of interest to the Hindus. Its geographical situation, and the religious sentiments it evokes in the hearts of Hindus and Singhalese alike, form connecting bonds between the two neighbouring lands. To the Hindu Ceylon is the land of Sita's captivity and Rama's heroic deeds; to the Singhalese India is the land of the great Gautama Buddha's birth. But, though the Ramayana may illustrate an historical truth, "the spread of Aryan civilization towards the south, more especially to Ceylon," the imaginative but unhistorical mind of the Hindu has enveloped the neighbouring Island in the thick mists of mythology and superstition; and to the present day, to the uninstructed Indian villager Lanka is a forbidden land ruled over by Vibhishana.* It is as much a land of Yakshas and Rakshasas now as it was to the ancient Aryan adventurers who colonised it about five centuries before the Christian era. The ignorance is colossal, and it is really surprising when we call to mind the long series of Tamil invasions of Ceylon, and the large number of South Indians that have settled down there.

On the Ceylonese side, however, there does not appear to have been any such glaring ignorance of India. The Singhalese have always remembered the country of their origin; they are a people "with the genuine historical zeal"; they have preserved continuous records of the history of their country. Their chroniclers are at times, it is true, hazy in their knowledge of South Indian Geography; but they always tell us who their enemies were, and where they came from. They carefully distinguish between the Pandyas, the Cholas and the Kalingas, and they impart to us sometimes highly important information about North India also.† They tell us impartially of the defeats sustained by their own sovereigns at the hands of alien invaders—they never spare us details. And what is strange among orthodox churchmen of mediæval days recording the history of their religion, they tell us of the defeats sustained by their Church and acknowledge with a large-hearted generosity the noble traits in the character of their enemies. The chronicles were often written under royal patronage; yet few attempts are visible at omitting or minimising

* For a curious story illustrating this, see Sir Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 578, Note 2.

† The references in the Chronicles to Southern India are more reliable than those to Northern India. This is natural.

disasters or at exaggerating victories. Some allowance has certainly to be made for the national vanity of patriotic historians; but, on the whole, there is little of that overdone pomposity with which the names of even comparatively insignificant Indian kings are sometimes adorned in inscriptions or in the stanzas of servile court poets. Where we learn anything from Indian sources of the history of Ceylon, we find that the island chroniclers, and especially the authors of the Mahavamsa, give us almost the identical facts. It must, however, be acknowledged that their chronology is imperfect, but it has been held to be fairly accurate after the third century B.C.*

A narrative of Indo-Ceylonese relations, based on the Ceylonese authorities alone, cannot be sufficiently clear or uniformly accurate. Hence we are fortunate in the existence of a few Tamil poems and numerous Indian inscriptions, which in treating of various subjects incidentally throw light on the history of Ceylon and its relation to the history of South India. Among the Indian monuments of antiquity, the legacy of inscriptions left to the historical student of after ages by the Chola Monarchs after the ninth century A.D. is specially important.

Over the earliest phases, however, of the relations of Ceylon with S. India, the Indian records are unfortunately silent, and hence in the earlier portions of our narrative we shall have to depend almost entirely on the Singhalese Chronicles. From them we learn that Wijaya, the northern adventurer who established the first Indo-Aryan colony in Ceylon, married a princess from the Pandya country.† In those remote days, however, the settlers in Ceylon naturally kept up a closer connection with Northern India than with Southern India. Fresh bands of Aryan‡ colonists arrived in Ceylon, more and more of the island was brought under their sway; agriculture was developed if not introduced§; and flourishing cities were founded. Everywhere the native races were subordinated; they were considered to be little better than beasts. Even the advent of Buddhism did not bring about social or political equality between conquerors and conquered.

* *Vide* Turnour's *Mahavamsa*. Introduction, page LI.
Henry Parker's *Report on Archæological Discoveries*; pages 7-10.

† Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, page 51.

‡ On the Aryan origin of the Singhalese, *vide* Ceylon Census Report, 1901, page 75: also, H. Parker's Introduction in his *Report on Archæological Discoveries*.

§ *Vide* Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 338.

It could not be otherwise. The colonists were few in number, they were surrounded by a hostile population; and their neighbours of South India were at best an alien race with an alien civilization. Eventually they succeeded in overwhelming the aborigines* and reducing them to a position of absolute subjection. Still the Singhalese were entirely isolated. Their kinsmen were far to the north and without the strength to come to their help in times of danger. The Dravidian races of S. India cast longing eyes on the rich Island and made repeated attempts to conquer it. The Singhalese kept up a brave defence and occasionally retaliated by sending an expedition into South India itself. For centuries the struggle continued between the great Dravidian kingdoms and the isolated Aryan colony in the South. The Dravidians pressed heavily and won inch by inch. But the Singhalese, even when they lost large portions of their country, kept aloof as a separate nation. And their national independence was never entirely extinguished till they came face to face with the western off-shoots of the great Aryan race.

The entire history of the relations between Ceylon and South India reveals a long and well-fought duel between two opposing races, religions, and civilizations. It presents what has unfortunately been overlooked in works of history on India and Ceylon, a fresh and instructive chapter in the history of the great struggle between the Aryans and the Dravidians.

The followers of Wijaya, aided by fresh immigrants from North India, established strong and prosperous settlements in various parts of the Island. A group of closely united Aryan settlements, all owing allegiance to a common superior, sprang up. Anuradhapura, the royal city where ruled the kings of Simhala-dvipa, grew gradually in splendour and wealth; and Simhala-dvipa itself became a country of interest to the Aryan kings of Hindustan. Ambassadors went from Ceylon to the court of Asoka to announce the coronation of Devanampiya-Tissa and valuable presents reached the Singhalese king from his friend Asoka the Great, of Magadha. The Aryan outpost in the extreme south was certainly waxing strong and famous.

Yet a warm climate, a fertile soil, and a life of ease and plenty could not but have a degenerating effect on the northern conquerors of the Island. A new religion, that of the Sakya-

* "They were probably a degenerate branch of the 'Kolarian' race, which had colonised S. India before the Dravidians." Ceylon Census Report for 1901, p. 8.

Muni, with all its mild and humanising tenets, sapped the military ardour of the Aryan settlers and substituted the rudiments of a theocracy more exacting of political obedience than the ancient Brahmanism. The restless spirit of the Non-Aryan South Indians brought them in ever increasing numbers to an island whose kings had, from the distant times of Aryan conquest and colonisation, entered into matrimonial relations with Tamil royal families. We may infer from passages in the Singhalese chronicles that from early times bodies of Tamil mercenary troops entered the service of Singhalese kings. When, in the reign of Suratissa, we learn that two Tamil youths, Sena and Guttika "powerful in their cavalry and navy," were able to put the King to death and usurp the throne, we come to the conclusion that the foreign element in the Singhalese forces must have been anything but despicable. For twenty-two years these Tamil usurpers reigned "righteously," but in 215 B. C. Prince Asela put them both to death and recovered the throne. Ten years later, Elara, a Chola prince "of upright character," landed at the mouth of the Mahaveli Ganga, and forcing his way to Anuradhapura, killed Asela and assumed the Government.*

The island of Ceylon was now divided into three divisions,† the Northern, Pihiti or Raja-Ratta, ruled now by Elara, the South-Eastern division, or Rohana Ratta, ruled over by Kakavanna Tissa, and the South-Western, Maya Ratta, ruled by Tissa. The King of Rohana had two sons, Gamani-Abhaya and Tissa. They were brought up as soldiers, and we are told that from boyhood it was the burning ambition of Gamani to drive out the Tamils and bring all Ceylon under one sway. The invaders, though they made themselves undisputed masters of Pihiti, were practically powerless to penetrate to the South, which ever in the history of Ceylon was the stronghold of the Singhalese in times of danger from the troublesome Tamils. Rohana, perhaps from its comparative accessibility, was forced to pay tribute to Elara. Otherwise it remained free. Maya-Ratta, sheltered behind the rough mountains of S. W. Ceylon, retained its complete independence till Gamani overthrew the Tamils.

While Elara‡ was reigning at Anuradhapura, the aged Kakavanna Tissa, King of Rohana, busied himself in military

* The chronology is that of the *Mahavamsa*.

† For a useful map of ancient Ceylon, see Tennent's *Ceylon*.

‡ Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, pp. 137 ff.; Upham's *Rajavali*, p. 196 and *Raja Ratnacari*, p. 38; *Pujavaliya*, p. 16. Date, c. 205—161, B. C.

preparations, and his son Gamani gradually gathered about him a large army. Even within Anuradhapura attempts at insurrection were not wanting. The chronicles tell us of a native chief who led a series of night attacks on the Tamil garrisons. Kakavanna Tissa was unwilling to cross the Mahaveliganga, and carry the war into Pihiti; but not so his son, who, giving offence to his father, left the court attended by his faithful followers. While in exile, he heard of his father's death and the usurpation of the throne by his brother. After a civil war in which the usurper Tissa was defeated and pardoned, the King set out with his vast army, and the Tamil garrisons fell before him one by one. Mahiyanganam was taken, and at the Ambititta ferry, a Tamil army was, after a hard fight, put to rout. The defeat and surrender of other garrisons followed. Such of the Tamils as were not killed, were either taken prisoners or driven northwards to Wijitapura. The fortress of Wijitapura became the rallying point for all the defeated Tamils. It was strongly fortified, and "surrounded by three ditches full of water"; and "excepting the fortress of Anuradhapura, this was the strongest fortress in the kingdom." Gamani crossed the river and, advancing against this stronghold, entrenched himself on an open plain in front. The siege continued for a period of four months, and Wijitapura was stormed. Pressing northward, the Singhalese arrived within striking distance of Anuradhapura. Elara, driven to bay, now held council with his 'Adigars,'* and a battle was decided on. The Tamils were defeated and most of them perished on the field of battle. Gamani overtook the Tamil king at the southern gate of the city, and in the combat that followed Elara was slain. His body was duly honoured; and over the ashes of the Tamilian was erected by royal command a tomb, upon which were inscribed words that do honour to the victor and the vanquished alike—"Let no king in future pass this way with palanquin (bambas) or with beating drums."†

Scarcely was Elara defeated when there was a fresh Tamil incursion from the Continent. During the siege of Wijitapura, Elara had been obliged to appeal to his countrymen on the mainland for help, and his nephew (or brother according to the Rajavali) Bhalluka by name responded by landing with a large army at Mahatittha. To his grief he learnt of his kinsman's

* Chiefs. அதிகாரி.

† *Rajavali*, p. 219.

death, but nothing daunted, he continued his march on Anuradhapura. His expedition, however, was a total failure. A great battle was fought " within the consecrated boundary of the Mahavihara"; the Tamil chieftain was slain, and his army destroyed.*

Of the internal condition of Pihiti or Raja-Ratta during the forty-four years of Elara's domination, the Singhalese chronicles do not tell us much, and there are no foreign sources from which we can attempt an estimate of the character and administrative capacity of this early Tamil adventurer. The chronicles contradict one another in their estimates. According to the Rajaratnacari, nothing but execrations should follow the memory of Elara; in his time, we are told, the holy and beautiful city of Anuradhapura was converted into a sepulchre, monuments were pulled down, and filth and profanity reigned supreme in the city. The pious scribe tells us " the wicked ravagers were like no other than ravenous brute beasts. When they met the princes they spat upon their garments; their vessels they snatched from them, and broke them in pieces, and certain it is that those who committed such abominations will hereafter transmigrate into brute beasts." The estimate of the Rajavali is summed up in the words, "he reigned wickedly for the space of forty-four years." But the force of this condemnation is weakened, when we find the same work mentioning later the order of Gamani that on the tombstone of Elara be inscribed the words, " let no king in future pass this way with palanquin (bambas) or with beating drums." What but respect for the fallen hero could have forced this order from his mortal enemy? And Gamani would certainly not have ordered regal honours to the desecrator of holy temples and the oppressor of his native land. We are strengthened further in the belief that Elara was neither 'wicked' nor actuated by the feelings of a 'ravenous brute' when we read the encomiums passed upon his memory by the equally pious scribes of the Mahavamsa and the Dipavamsa, and when we remember the respect shown to his tomb till comparatively recent days.† The Mahavamsa mentions the protection he extended to the priesthood and the holy temples, and speaks of his "administering justice with impartiality to friends and to foes;" and the Dipavamsa, which is the oldest of the known chronicles of Ceylon, quaintly sums up his character in the statement that "avoiding the four evil paths of lust,

* Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, pp. 155-6. Upham's *Rajavali*, p. 219.

† Forbes's *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Vol. I. p. 233.

hatred, fear and ignorance, this incomparable monarch reigned righteously."

The reign of Elara, though mild and benevolent in its nature, perhaps beheld many conversions to the ancient fold of Hinduism; for of Gamani Raja [c. 161-137, B. C.] we are told that he "extirpated the religion imported into Ceylon by his enemies."

From the death of Duttha Gamani to the accession of Vala-gambahu [c. 104-77, B. C.] the history is undisturbed save by two royal executions and an act of usurpation by a minister. Almost on the eve of a fresh Tamil invasion, Maharantaka, a minister, put King Khallata Naga to death and usurped the supreme power. Vala-gambahu, a younger brother of the dead king, put the usurper to death and ascended the throne. In the reign of this king, the Tamils, like the Saxons of old in Britain, invaded the rich Island in several bands and tried to establish themselves there. Six months after this king's accession, a Hindu youth of Nakula in Rohana, believing, we are told, in a prophecy promising him kingship, "rose in rebellion; and simultaneously seven Tamil chieftains from Chola Rashtra invaded the Island in seven different points." The king was now confronted with enemies both from within and without; and, according to the Mahavamsa, the game of 'divide and conquer' was so well played that the Hindu youth 'of Nakula' was not only prevented from joining the Tamils, but he was also induced to fight them on their invading the Island. The Tamils easily took him prisoner and turned their arms against Vala-gambahu, whom they defeated at Kolambaloko.* Vala-gambahu fled from Anuradhapura, and after wandering about *incognito* for some time in the forests of Maya-Ratta, raised an army with priestly aid and appeared in Pihiti after an exile of fourteen years [c. 103-88, B. C.]. Meanwhile, the situation had changed in the north. Of the seven Tamil chiefs, there was but one remaining. One of them being enamoured of his prisoner, the Singhalese queen Somadevi, soon re-crossed the sea with her; another went back to India, satisfied with the booty of a dish which had belonged to Buddha. Of the remaining five chiefs, Pula-hattha, Bahiya, Panaya Mara,† Pilaya Mara and Dathiya, the first named reigned as king for three years and was then put to

* Between Anuradhapura and the northern seaport Mahatittha.

† Dr. Caldwell points out that Maran was the most ancient name of the Pandyan King [*History of Tinnevelly*, p. 13]. It is thus highly probable that some of these invaders were Pandyans.

death by his minister Bahiya. Bahiya was put to death after two years by Panaya Mara, his minister; he by Pilaya Mara after seven years. Pilaya Mara reigned for seven months, and was in his turn put to death by his minister Dathiya, who then held Anuradhapura for two years.

In the regular sequence in which each of the four last named chiefs became minister and then usurped the throne, there is an appearance of improbability. It is, however, probable that of the seven. two went away with rich booty, and the remaining five intrigued and struggled for supremacy, till Dathiya was left sole master of Anuradhapura and the surrounding country. At this stage Vala-gambahu marched on the capital and defeated and slew Dathiya. Somadevi, the captive Singhalese queen, was brought back from India and restored to all her former dignities.

It was perhaps during this period that the Tamil colony of Jaffna was founded.* One Yalpana Nayanar, *alias* Viraraghavan, a blind minstrel from the Chola country, is said to have arrived in Ceylon, and to have so pleased the king with his performance that he received a gift of land. He then founded a thriving colony which he called Yalpanam (Jaffna) after his own professional name; and he invited Singariya Chakravarti, a natural son of the King of Chola, to come and rule over the Tamil colony. The year 3000 of the Kaliyuga (101 B.C.) was according to the Kailasa Malai † the date of Singariya's coronation.

Vala-gambahu was succeeded by his step-son Mahachula, who, after a peaceful reign of fourteen years, was succeeded by Chora-Naga. The pious scribe of the Mahavamsa consigns this king to "the Lokantarika Hell." In this reign we hear of a severe famine both in Ceylon and South India. Chora-Naga was put to death by his wife Anula,‡ a woman of the lowest type, who by a succession of murders kept the royal power in her hands for a period of six years. During these years she changed her husbands at her caprice; and among these unfortunate men, it is interesting to note, there were two Indians. One of these was Vatuka,§ a carpenter come "from a foreign country" (presumably a Telugu); and the other was Nilaya, the Purohita-Brahmana. Vatuka and

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* Casiechitty's *Tamil Plutarch.*

† Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1847-48, No.3, p. 71. But in the *Tamil Plutarch* the date is given as Kaliyuga 3000 = 101 A.D.!

‡ c. 47-42, B. C.

§ Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, p. 209; *Pujavaliya*, p. 19. The Telugus are even now called Vatukas.

the Brahman Nilaya were, like the rest of her husbands, raised to the throne by this infamous woman. The gross immorality of the queen roused at last the fury of the Singhalese, and Kalakana Tissa, the second son of Mahachula, who had fled from the capital through fear of Anula, returned at the head of an army and put an end to her life.

The history of this reign reveals to us the fact that South Indians commanded considerable influence at Anuradhapura. Long before Elara's time the Tamils had enlisted in Ceylonese service, and the tide of conquest rolled away, depositing on its course a few stray Indians as officers of trust and soldiers of fortune; and only the wandering eye of a princess was needed to raise one or two of them to a tottering throne, over which hung the sharp sword of a wanton's caprice.

We now pass from the times of Anula to the reign of another queen regnant, Sivali. After a reign of four months she was deposed by her cousin Ilanaga [35-38-44, A. D.]. At the commencement of his reign a rebellion forced the King to flee to the opposite coast of India, and there make preparations for an invasion of Ceylon. We have reason to believe that his son married a Tamil princess, for both the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa refer to Damiladevi as the daughter-in-law of Ilanaga. After residing for three years in India the royal exile landed in Rohana at the head of a foreign army, and was soon joined by his adherents in the Island. The insurgents were defeated, though the King's foreign auxiliaries " were enfeebled by the sea-voyage." Thus this King, who had come to the throne by deposing his cousin and had been driven out of his kingdom by insurgent subjects, was restored by the aid of foreign swords.

Thus commenced a policy fruitful with evil in the future of Ceylon, a policy which called in the interference of the Tamil foreigners in disputes which concerned none but the Singhalese. Ilanaga commenced what was afterwards repeated often and often in the history of Ceylon; and even the valour of Parakramabahu could not free Ceylon from the dire effects of long centuries of foreign domination and interference. The weakness of the Singhalese was revealed to the continental foe, and it was not long before he learned to take advantage of the frequent internecine wars which could not be fought without his strong mercenary arm. The result of such a suicidal policy was the crippling of the defensive resources of the Singhalese as against a common foreign foe.

Till now we have had Tamil armies invading Ceylon. When we come, however, to the reign of King Gajabahu* of Ceylon, we are told by some of our authorities that for once the tables were turned, and that, instead of the Tamils invading Ceylon, the Singhalese invaded "Soly-Ratta" and carried back a large number of prisoners. The Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa are silent over the invasion. So also are Gajabahu's inscriptions.† The Pujavaliya says that during the time of Gajabahu's father "people were sent from Lanka to work at Kaveri." Enraged at this Gajabahu invaded India and took back "twice as many prisoners as went to work at Kaveri." He then made a law that no one should go thither from Lanka. The Raja Ratnacari mentions Gajabahu's invading "Solly-Ratta" and releasing "inhabitants of Ceylon" who, "leaving their own country, had gone to serve at the river Kaveri." The Rajavali alludes to an invasion of Ceylon by the Cholas, in the time of one Sinnam Raja of Ceylon, and says that his son Rajabaw Cumara retaliated by invading the Chola country. The three last mentioned works also agree in saying that the Singhalese king gained his object *by the aid of miracles,* and that he introduced into Ceylon a large number of Tamil prisoners of war. Davy, who based his history of Ceylon on the traditions told him by Singhalese priests, says that in the first century of the Saka era the Tamils made an incursion into Ceylon and carried off 12,000 prisoners, and that later Gajabahu invaded India and took back the 12,000 Singhalese along with 12,000 Tamils.

The real facts are probably as follows: A large number of Singhalese were taken, either as free labourers or as slaves purchased or captured on the coasts, to work at Kaverippattinam. Gajabahu was desirous of restoring them to their liberty and bringing them back to their homes. With this object he went to India and entered into friendly negotiations with its southern kings. Gaining his end he returned to Ceylon accompanied by his released subjects, and a large number of Tamils to whom he granted lands.

I am led to the above conclusion by the entire silence of the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa over the alleged invasion of India, the absence of any reference to actual fighting in the rest of the Singhalese authorities, and the historical evidence afforded by

* c.113—135 A. D., or, according to the *Pujavaliya*, 108—130.

† There are few Ceylonese inscriptions of historical value.

certain classical poems in the Tamil language. From the Pattinappalai we learn that the Chola King Karikala I., considering Uraiyur, perhaps on account of its distance from the sea, not suited to be his capital, built and fortified Kaverippattinam and removed his capital thither. It is probable that Karikala obtained labourers and artisans from Ceylon to help in the construction of the new capital. There is nothing strange in an Indian king obtaining artisans from Ceylon, for the Singhalese even before the dawn of the Christian era had built some of the noblest monuments of early Buddhist days. And their fame as engineers seems to have been current even in later days and in distant countries, for, in the eighth century, we hear from the Raja-Tarangini of a king of Kashmir who sent to Ceylon for irrigation engineers.

Karikalachola defeated Cheraman-Perumcheralathan, the king of the Chera country,* at the battle of Venni. Later, he gave his daughter in marriage to Cheralathan's son. And to this royal couple was born Chenkuttuva Chera, *whose court Gajabahu appears to have visited.* On the Chola throne Karikala was succeeded by Nalankkilli, and he by Killi-Valavan. Now this Killi-Valavan was a contemporary of Chenkuttuva by whom he was helped in securing the Chola throne. The Chilappathikaram says they were cousins.† From these facts Mr. Coomaraswamy arrived at the conclusion that Karikala reigned in the first century A.D. ‡ Working on the same data, and in addition by identifying the "Hundred Karnas" mentioned in the Chilappathikaram with the Magadha King Satakarnin I, Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai arrives at the conclusion that Satakarnin I, Chenkuttuva Chera and Gajabahu were contemporaries, and that Karikala Chola reigned from about A.D. 55 to A.D. 95. And Professor P. Sundaram Pillay has shown that the 'Ten Idylls,' of which the Pattinappalai, dedicated to Karikala Chola, is one, might have been composed "about the beginning of the Christian era." § If so, Karikala Chola's grandson might well have been the contemporary of Gajabahu I. of Ceylon.

In addition to the points mentioned above, the following may be specially noted :—

1. The Chilappathikaram says that Gajabahu was present at

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* Coimbatore, Travancore, Salem.

† "*நின் மைத்துன வளவன் கிள்ளி.*"

‡ Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1894.

§ The ten Tamil Idylls—The *Christian College Magazine* for March, 1891.

the consecration by Chenkuttuva Chera of a temple to the divine Pattini;* and the Rajavali says that Gajabahu brought to Ceylon the foot-ornaments of Pattini-devi.

2. The Karikala Chola of the Pattinappalai and the Chilappathikaram cannot be identified with Karikala II. or Aditya Karikala whose reign was towards the close of the tenth century A.D. † For by the tenth century Kaverippattinam was already an ancient town,‡ and Nalankkilli and Killi-Valavan are not among the successors of the second Karikala. Hence our Karikala must have been Karikala I. And there are no other Karikalas known to us. §

3. Killi is a name not found among the later Chola kings, who always bore highly Sanskritised names.

4. The Ceylonese Chronicles speak of *only one* Gajabahu before the twelfth century. Hence, if we allow that Killi-Valavan was not one of the later Chola kings, and that he could not have reigned in the time of the second Gajabahu, || who was a contemporary of the Chalukya-Cholas, we are also obliged to admit that "Kayabahu," King of sea-girt Lanka" was no other than Gajabahu I. of Ceylon, who reigned from 113 to 135 A.D. [or A.D. 108-130 according to the Pujavaliya.]

Chenkuttuva Chera returning from his pilgrimage to the Ganges, consecrated at his capital in Vanchi a temple to Kannaki. Among the Kings who honoured the occasion with their presence was Gajabahu. And it is likely that he had already been at the Chola court. From the Manimekhalai we learn that Buddhism was a widely accepted religion in the Chola country, and from the same work we also learn that Killi's wife was a princess from Naganadu or Ceylon:—

> "நாக நாடு நடுக்கின் றாள்பவன்
> வாகை வேலோன் வளைவணன் றேவி
> வாசமயிலை வயிற்றுட் டோன்றிய
> பீலிவளை யென்போள்."

"Peelivalai, born of Vasamayilai, the queen of Valaivanan, who bore the victorious lance and ruled fearlessly over Naganadu." Thus the Chola country, which had Buddhists among its people

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* பத்தினிக்கடவுள், the name under which Kannaki was worshipped.

† Mabel Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 283.

‡ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Madras, Vol. I, p. 272.

§ *Vide* Mr. Venkayya's Appendix to Mr. Swaminatha Iyer's edition of the *Purananuru*.

|| 1142–1164 according to the *Mahavamsa*.

and a Singhalese princess for its queen, must have been a land of considerable interest to Gajabahu. And hence, a peaceful and friendly visit by Gajabahu to Chola-Rashtra is easily explicable.

U. PADMANABHA KUKILLAYA.

(*To be continued.*)

THE VELANS OF COCHIN.

THE Velans of Cochin, like the Panans, are a caste of devil-dancers, sorcerers and quack doctors, and are, in the northern parts of the State, called Perumannàns* or Mannáns (washermen). They numbered 8,239 in the last census, 4,009 being males, 4,230 females. The Velans and the Mannáns differ slightly in their customs and manners, and in some places they neither interdine nor intermarry, while in others they interdine but do not intermarry.

There are no subcastes among the Velans, who, in Ernakulam, Cochin and other places, are said to belong to the following eight *illams*, or endogamous septs, namely, Pala *illam*, Attipalli *illam*, Thamarasseri *illam*, Panankat *illam*, and Thali *illam*. Similar *illam* division exists among the Perumannàns of the Trichur Taluk. They are Thachampalli *illam*, Eramangalath *illam*, Cherusseri *illam*, and Purathikad *illam*. In the same Taluk, the name of the place in which they live is also prefixed to their names. The Perumannàns of the Chittur Taluk have no knowledge of this *illam* division existing among them.† These subdivisions which are not found in other places, do not appear to be real exogamous divisions. Similar divisions are also noticed among the Panans.

The following ingenious story is given me regarding the origin of the Velans and Mannáns. Once when god Parames-

* My informant, a Perumannàn at Trichur, told me that their castemen south of the Karuvannur bridge, about ten miles south of Trichur, are called Velans, and that they neither interdine nor intermarry; because they give *mattu* (a washed cloth) to carpenters to be free from pollution. The Mannáns who give the *mattu* to Izhuvans do not give it to Kammalans who are superior to them in social status. I am not furnished with any satisfactory explanation for the observance of this custom.

† In the Trichur Taluk, the Mannáns are said to belong to the following four subdivisions namely,

1. Perumannans—washermen for Brahmans, Nayars and Izhuvans.
2. Thachan Mannans—washermen for Kammalans.
3. Theendamannans—washermen for the Fishing castes.
4. Punekkàdan.

wara and his wife Parvathy were amusing themselves, the latter chanced to make an elephant with earth which was accidentally trodden upon by the former, whence arose a man who stood bowing before them. He was called the Mannán, because he came out of *mun* (earth), and to him was assigned his present occupation.

The Velans are found all over the southern parts of the State, just as their brethren are in the northern parts, and the former live in thatched huts in cocoanut gardens, while the Mannáns occupy similar dwellings in small compounds either of their own or of some landlords whose tenants they may be. They are very poor and have no furniture of any kind except a few coarse mats, on which they sleep, and one or two wooden planks to sit on. Their utensils are earthen, but a few enamelled dishes and tumblers were seen in a few of the huts examined by me.

Among the Velans of the south and the Mannáns of the north girls are married sometimes when they are grown up, and sometimes when they are still infants. As amongst the Panans and Vilkurups, the *tali*-tying ceremony for girls of nine, eleven or twelve years of age is indispensable, the neglect of this ceremony being punishable by excommunication. The formalities connected with it are the same as those described in my monograph on other castes.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed and practised. When a young man of the Velan caste has attained the marriageable age, his father and maternal uncle select a suitable girl as wife, after proper examination into the agreement of their horoscopes. The preliminaries are arranged in the hut of the girl, and a portion of the bride's price, fifteen *fanoms*, is also paid at the time. The auspicious day for the wedding is fixed, and the number of guests that should attend it is also determined. The wedding is celebrated in the girl's hut, in front of which a shed is put up. The ceremony generally takes place during the night. A few hours before it the bridegroom and his party arrive at the bride's hut, where they are welcomed and seated on mats spread on the floor in the pandal. At the auspicious hour, when the relatives on both sides and the castemen are assembled, the bridegroom's *enangan* hands over a metal plate containing the wedding suit, the bride's price and a few packets of betel leaves and nuts to the bride's *enangan*, who takes everything except the cloth to be given to the bride's mother and returns the plate. The bridegroom's sister dresses the bride in the new cloth, and takes her to

the pandal to seat her along with the bridegroom and to serve one or two spoonfuls of milk and a few pieces of plantain fruit, when the bride is formally declared to be the wife of the young man and a member of his family, which is the binding portion of the ceremony. The guests assembled are treated to a feast, after which they are served with betel leaves, nuts and tobacco. The rest of the night is spent in merry songs and dancing. The next morning the bride's party is treated to a rice *kanji* at eight o'clock, and to a sumptuous meal at twelve o'clock, after which they return to his hut, accompanied by the bride, her parents and relations, all of whom receive a similar welcome. The formalities are gone through here also, and the bride's party is feasted. On the fourth morning the married couple bathe and dress themselves neatly to worship the deity in the local temple. After dinner they go to the bride's hut, where they spend a week or two, after which the bridegroom returns to his own hut with his wife. The marriage is formally over. It is now that the bride receives a few ornaments, a metal dish for use at meals, a lamp and a few metallic utensils which vary according to the circumstances of her parents. The marriage expenses in the bride's family amount to about fifty or sixty rupees, while for the bridegroom they come to a little less. The chief item of the expenditure in both the families is the feeding. Henceforward, the husband and wife live with the parents of the former in their family.

Among the Mannáns of the northern parts of the State, the following marriage customs are found to prevail. The bridegroom's father, his maternal uncle, *enangan* and the third man or middle man conjointly select the girl after ascertaining the agreement of horoscopes. The preliminaries are arranged as before, and the day for the wedding is also determined. Just at the auspicious moment on the wedding day, when the relatives on both sides and the castemen are assembled in the shed in front of the bride's hut, the bridegroom's father takes up a metal plate containing the wedding dress, the bride's price (twelve *fanoms*) and a few bundles of betel leaves, nuts and tobacco, and gives it to the bride's parents, after first repeating sentences of which the following is the substance. "A lighted lamp is placed in the shed. Four mats are spread round it in the direction of east, west, north and south. A metallic plate containing some rice, flowers and betel leaves is placed in front of the lamp, and the elderly members of the caste and the relatives on both sides are assembled.

According to the traditional custom of the caste the young man's father, maternal uncle, *enangan* and the third or middle man conjointly selected the girl after satisfying themselves as to the due agreement of horoscopes and ascertaining the *illams* and *kiriyams* on both sides. They have negotiated for the girl, and settled the day on which the marriage is to take place. In token of this, they have eaten with the bride's family. The claims of the girl for two pieces of cloth for *Onam*, two *fanoms* or nine annas for *Thiruwathira* (a festival in Dhanu, *i.e.*, December-January) and *Vishu* (first of Medom, *i.e.*, about the twelfth of April) are satisfied, and she has been taken by the young man to the village festival. They have now come for the celebration of the wedding. There have been times when he has heard of 101 *fanoms* as the price of the bride, and has seen 51 *fanoms* as the price of the same, but it is now 21 *fanoms*. It thus varies, and may be increased or diminished according to the will, pleasure and means of the parties. With four *fanoms* as the price of the bride and eight *fanoms* for ornaments, and with the bundles of betel leaves, nuts and the wedding dress in a metal plate, 'May I, ye elderly members, give it to the girl's parents?' 'Shall I,' answers the girl's father, 'accept it?'"

Receiving the plate, the father gives it to his brother-in-law, who gives it to the *enangan*, and he takes everything in it except the wedding-suit, which he hands over to the bridegroom's *enangan*, who gives it to the bridegroom's sister, to have the bride dressed in it. The other portions of the ceremony are the same as those described above.

In Palghat and the Chittur Taluk of the State, a short declaration is made to the following effect :—

"According to the customary traditions of the caste, when a young man of one locality comes to tame a girl of another locality and takes her as wife, 'Ye elderly members assembled here, may these four bundles of betel leaves, four measures of rice, two pieces of cloth (wedding suit) and ten *fanoms* be given to the bride's parents?' 'Shall these be accepted?' says the bride's *enangan*."

When the bride accompanies the bridegroom to his hut, another formal statement is made, of which the following is the general tenor. "Thrash thou mayest, but not with a stick. Thou mayest not accuse her of bad conduct. Thou mayest not cut off her ears, breasts, nose and tufts of hair. Thou mayest not take her to a tank (to bathe) or a temple (for swearing). Thou mayest

keep and protect her as long as thou wantest. When thou dost not want her, give her maintenance, and take back the children, for they are thine own."

As has been said, the day on which the wedding takes place, is spent in songs sung by some of their castemen. These songs, which are puranic, refer to the marriage of Sita, wife of Rama, hero of Ramayana, of Subadrah, wife of Arjuna, and of Panchali, wife of the Pandavas, and are not without fun and humour.

Polygamy is not prohibited, but it is rarely practised by the Velans and Mannáns. They are very poor, and find it difficult to support a single wife and her children. Want of children, bodily defect or incurable disease, or want of additional hands for work, may sometimes induce them to take more than one wife. Polyandry does not prevail among the Velans, but is common among the Mannáns of the northern parts of the State. The formalities connected with it are the same as those described by me in my account of the other castes.

A Velan woman who loses her husband may marry another of her caste, if she likes, a year after her husband's death. Her children, if sufficiently young, reside with her until they are grown up, when they are left in the family of their father. The formalities of the wedding consist in the husband's giving two pieces of cloth to the woman who wishes to enter into wedlock with him. After this she forfeits all claims on the property of her former husband. Young widows sometimes marry in this manner, but grown-up women with children seldom think of a second marriage. Among the Mannáns, on the other hand, a widow may marry any one of her brothers-in-law.

A woman committing adultery with a member of her own caste is well thrashed, with a view to deter her from a repetition of the crime. A woman who disposes of herself to a member of a lower caste is sent out of caste. Both among the Velans and Mannáns, divorce in an easy affair. A man who does not like his wife, has only to take her to her hut and give charge of her to her parents, informing them of the circumstances which have induced him to adopt such a course. A woman who does not like her husband may relinquish him and join her parents. In both cases the woman divorced is at liberty to marry again.

Among Velans and Mannáns the sons inherit the property of their fathers. They are poor, and have little to inherit. They have their caste assemblies which consist of the elderly members

who meet on all important occasions affecting the welfare of the castemen, and their decisions are final.

Velans and Mannáns practise magic and sorcery. As has been said, all diseases that flesh is heir to are, in the opinion of these people, caused by the malignant demons, and they profess to cure, with the aid of their *mantrams* and amulets, people suffering from maladies. The muttering of the following *mantrams* and throwing of *bhasmam* (holy ashes), in propitiation of the small-pox demon, are believed to effect a radical cure on persons suffering from small-pox and diseases of a similar nature. Approximate translations are here offered of this *mantram* and others.

1. "Om, O Thou, Pallyamma! mother with tusk-like teeth, that in demoniacal form, appearest on the burning-ground called *omkara*, with burning piles flaming around, with one breast on one of thy shoulders and playing with the other as with a ball, with thy tongue stretched out and wound round thy head, with grass, beans and pepper in thy left hand, with gingelly seeds and *chama* grains in thy right hand, that scatterest and sowest broadcast the seeds of small-pox and allied pox; Oh! let the seeds that thou hast sown, and those that thou hast not sown, dry up inside and get charred outside. Be thou as if intoxicated with joy! Be thou as if intoxicated with joy! Protect thou, Protect thou!"

The small-pox demon is in the Tamil districts called Mariyamma, who is the village goddess (*Grama Devata*). The legend is that she was expelled from Heaven on account of her haughtiness, and she is more feared for causing, in her anger, plague, small-pox and other calamities, than beloved for removing them. Her aid is often solicited for protection from the attack of demons. In Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, she is known as Kali or Bhagavathi, and festivals are held in honour of her.

2. Malign influence of birds on children.—"O Thou round-eyed, short Karinkali,* with big ears, born from the third incessantly burning eye of Siva! come, come and be in possession."

If the above *mantram* be muttered sixteen times, and *bhasmam* thrown over the body of a child, the operator breathing violently the while, a radical cure will be effected. If the *mantram* be muttered into a vessel of water the same number of times, and the child bathed in it, the cure will be equally effective.

* Cheriakarinkali.—Dark coloured young goddess, Kali. Her ears are very large. In the war with Darika (an *asura* or demon), it is said that her ears were so large as to conceal a large number of elephants.

3. "O Thou swine-faced mother! that catchest hold of my enemy, coming to seize by the neck, with thy tusks thrust into his body; draggest him on the ground and standest slowly chewing and eating, thrusting once and thrusting thy tusks, rubbing again, and wearing down his body, chewing once more and again; thou, mother that controllest 4,448 demons presiding over all kinds of maladies, seventy-two Bhiravans, eighteen kinds of epileptic fits (Korkas),* twelve kinds of Muyalis and all other kinds of illness, as also twelve Kandakaranans (demons with bell-shaped ears), be under my possession, so long as I serve thee."

This *mantram*, when repeated sixteen times with *bhasmam* (holy ashes) thrown on the body of a patient, is a cure for all kinds of fits and fever.

4. "O Bhadrakali, that hast drunk the full cup! O Thou, that holdest the sword of royalty in thy right hand, and that half sittest on a high seat! place under control, as I am piously uttering the *mantrams* to serve thee, all demons, namely Yagshi, Gandharvan, Poomalagandharvan, Chutali, Neerali, Nilankari, Chuzhali and many others who cause all kinds of illness that flesh is heir to. O Holy mother, Bhadrakali! I vow by my preceptor *Swaha*." †

5. For devil-driving.—" O Thou, Karinkutty ‡ (Black dwarf) of Vedapuram in Vellanad, that pluckest the fruits of the right-hand branch of strichnos nux vomica, and keepest toddy in its shell, drinking the blood of black domestic fowl, drumming and keeping time on the rind of the fruit, filling and blowing thy pipe or horn through the nose! O Thou primeval black dwarf! so long as I utter thy proper *mantrams*, I beg thee to cause such demons as would not dance to dance and others to jump and drive them out. O Thou, Karinkutty! come, come, and enable me to succeed in my attempts."

6. *Mantram* invoking bear-faced demon, (for devil-driving): —" Oh! The goddess with face, O Thou with face like that of a bear, and thou, a hunter! I utter thy *mantrams* and meditate upon thee, and, therefore, request thee to tread upon my enemies, burst open their bodies to drink their blood and yawn to

* *Korka* = A kind of fever. Its symptoms are ague, change of bodily colour to darkness, trembling as with fear, bodily distortion, flow of saliva.

† *Swaha* is a mystic syllable uttered by the sorcerer when he throws ashes, &c., on the patient or otherwise employs or propitiates his goddess. It is a Sanskrit word for sacrifice.

‡ The Karinkutty is an incarnation of Vishnu in his *tamas* (dark) moments.

take complete rest; drive out such demons as cause convulsions of the body both from within and without, and all kinds of fever. Scatter them as dust. I swear by thee and my preceptor *Swaha*."

7. Potency of evil eye.—"Salutation to thee, O God! Even as the Moon wanes in its brightness at the sight of the Sun; even as the bird *chakora* (Eraya) disappears at the sight of the Moon; even as the great Vasuki (king of serpents) vanishes at the sight of Chakora; even as the poison vanishes from his head, so may the potency of his evil eye, with thy aid, vanish."

The muttering of this *mantram* with *bhasmam* thrown over the body of the patient is an effective cure for the potency of the evil eye.

8. *Mantram* preventing cows from milking.—"Om Koss (a mystic word of destructive import), dry up the liquid (water); kindly present me with thy gracious aspect. O Thou with the great sword in thy hands, the great trident! dry up the cow's udder even as a tiger. I swear by thee and my preceptor."

9. *Mantram* causing cows to give milk.—"Even as the swelling on the holy feet of Mahadeva due to the bite of a crocodile has subsided and gone down, so go down, I swear by my preceptor."

10. *Mantram* to remove thorn thrust into the sole of the foot:—"When Parameswara and Parvathi started on their hunting expedition, a thorn entered the feet of her ladyship. It was doubted to be the thorn of a bamboo or an ant or a nux vomica. Even so may this poison cease to hurt, O Lord! I swear by my preceptor."

11. Metamorphosis.—"Take the head of a dog and burn it, and plant on it *vellakutty* plant (sap wood). Burn camphor, frankincense and adore it. Then pluck the root. Then mix it with the milk of a dog and the bones of a cat. A mark of the mixture on the forehead can enable any person to assume the figure of any animal he thinks of."

12. "Before a stick of the *Malankara* plant worship with a lighted wick and incense. Then chant the Sakti *mantram* 101 times, and then mutter the *mantram* to give life at the bottom. Watch carefully which way the stick inclines. Proceed to the south of the stick and pluck the whiskers of a live tiger and make with them a ball of the *Veerali* silk, and string it with silk and enclose it within the ear. Stand on the palms of the hand to attain the disguise of a tiger; then, with the stick in hand, think of

a cat, white bull or any other animal. Then you will, in the eyes of others, appear as such."

13. "Take the nest of a crow from a margosa tree, and bury it in the cremation ground. Then take and throw it in the house of your enemy. The house will soon take fire."

14. "Take the ashes of the burial ground on which an ass has been rolling on a Sunday or a Saturday and keep it in the house of your enemy. The members of the family will soon quit the house or a severe illness will attack them."

The Velans and Mannáns are animists, and worship a set of demoniacal Gods, namely Chandan, Mundian, Kandakaranan, Karinkutty and Chathan, all of whom are separately represented by stones which are located underneath a tree in the corners of their compounds; and offerings of sheep, fowls, plantain fruit, cocoanuts, parched rice and beaten rice are made to them on the tenth of Dhanu (last week of December), on a Tuesday in Makaram (January-February) and on Kumbham Bharani (second asterism in March-April). They also adore the Goddess Bhagavathi and the spirits of their departed ancestors, who are believed to exercise their influence in the families of these people for everything good or bad. Sometimes when they go to Cranganore to worship the Goddess there, they visit the senior male members of the local Nayar, Kammàlan and Izhuvan families to take leave of them, when they are given a few annas with which they purchase fowls, &c., to be given as offerings to the Goddess. Wooden or metallic images, representing the departed spirits of their ancestors, are located in a room of their huts and worshipped with offerings on new moon and *sankranti* nights.

The Velans and Mannáns either bury or burn the dead. The sons are the chief mourners who perform the funeral rites, and the nephews and brothers, if any, take part in them. Their priests are known as Kurups, and they preside at the ceremonies. The pollution lasts for sixteen days, and on the morning of the sixteenth day the hut of the dead man or woman is well swept and cleaned by sprinkling water mixed with cowdung. The members of the family, dressed in the *mattu* (a washed cloth worn before bathing) brought by the washerman, bathe to be free from pollution. The castemen including their friends and relations are invited and feasted. A similar funeral feast is also held at the end of the year.

The chief occupation of the Velans and Mannáns is the giv-

ing of *mattu* to Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Antharalajatis, Nayars, Kammàlans and Izhuvans for wearing before going to bathe on the day on which they are freed from pollution. They bathe wearing the washed cloth and return it as soon as the bath is over. It may either belong to the washerman or have been previously given to him by the members of the family.

The Velans give the *mattu* to all castemen above mentioned; while the Mannáns refuse to give it to the Kammàlans and thereby profess themselves to be superior in status to them. They wash clothes to dress the idols in some of the high caste temples. As has been said, they wash cloth for the castemen above referred to, and their washing consists in first plunging the dirty cloths in water mixed with cowdung and beating them on a stone by the side of a tank, canal or river, and again immersing them in water mixed with wood ashes or *charamannu*, after which they are exposed to steam for a few hours and again beaten on the stone, slightly moistening in water now and then, until they appear to be quite clean. They are then dried in the sun, and again moistened with a solution of starch and indigo, when they are exposed to the air to dry. When dry, they are well folded and beaten with a heavy club, so as to appear as if ironed. The remuneration for washing varies from three to six pies per cloth. The Velans of the Cranganore, Cochin and Kanayannur Taluks ascend cocoanut trees to pluck cocoanuts, and get about eight to ten annas for every hundred trees they go up. They make umbrellas. Some among them practise magic and sorcery, and some are quack doctors who treat sickly children. Some are now engaged in agricultural operations, while a few others make beds, pillows, and coats. There are also a few of them in every village who are singers and whose services are requisitioned on certain ceremonial occasions. Some are experts in drum-beating and are invited by low castemen of the rural parts. The Mannáns also follow the same occupations.

The Velans and Mannáns eat at the hands of all castemen above them, namely Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Nayars and Izhuvans. The former take the food of Kammàlans, while the latter abstain from so doing. They do not eat the food prepared by Kaniyan, Panan, Vilkurups and all castemen of equal or inferior status. They have to stand at a distance of twenty-four feet from the Brahmans. They are polluted by the touch of the castemen above-mentioned They have their own barbers and are themselves their washer-

men. They stand far away from the outer wall of the temples of high castemen. They are not allowed to take water from the wells of high caste Sudras, nor are they allowed to live in their midst. Their dress, ornaments and games are the same as those described of their allied castes.

L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer.

GRAY AND HIS CRITICS.

Gray lived in ease and leisure and was fifty-five years old when he died; and though his poetry is comparatively scanty, yet the reputation he has achieved by his few poems is so great as to awaken surprise and enquiry.

At the mention of Gray's name, it is his 'Elegy' that comes uppermost to our minds. Perhaps it is a reminiscence of our school days. It is, however, certain that only a genuine poem could have continued to hold the admiration of the public which the 'Elegy' evoked. We do not know whether poets are the best judges of their own productions, but it is strange to find Gray confessing "with a good deal of acrimony" that the 'Elegy' owed its popularity entirely to its subject, and still stranger to find his critic, Matthew Arnold, admitting this to be true. Dr. Johnson, who has been much maligned as a critic of Gray, writes in the following appreciative strain of warm praise of this beautiful poem:—"'The Churchyard' abounds with images which find a mirror in every mind, and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo. The four stanzas beginning 'Yet even these bones' are to me original; I have never seen the notions in any other place; yet he that reads them here persuades himself that he has always felt them." And the common sense of the public, which must be regarded as the final tribunal by which literary judgments are upheld or rejected, has fully confirmed Dr. Johnson's praise.

The 'Elegy,' however, stands convicted alike by the author and by his critic, Arnold. We shall turn, therefore, to the other poems of Gray to seek his poetical beauties. Admittedly none of these has had much vogue with the public. "Little notice was taken" of the 'Ode on the Prospect of Eton College'; Gray's two Pindaric Odes, when first published, were unintelligible to the public: they had all the Pindaric obscurity. He felt constrained

to add notes,—"out of spite," he says, but it is equally possible that he was stung by a neglect on the part of the public, which he may have felt, even while he affected to despise it. The poems were liked and highly appreciated by a few, and whether this praise was the result of intelligent appreciation or arose partly also out of "fashion"—with which weakness the public was twitted by Gray—we need not care to enquire. Arnold mentions Beattie, Cowper, Adam Smith and Sir James Mackintosh as testifying to the excellence of Gray's poetry. But the ablest and most recent advocate Gray has found is in Matthew Arnold himself, in whose opinion Gray is entitled to rank as a 'classic' poet, a distinction to which he does not recognise even Chaucer's claim. This is, indeed, very high praise. And wherein does Arnold find the 'classic' element in Gray's poetry? It lies in what he calls the 'evolution' of Gray's poetry. This word is rather vague and has been misunderstood by no less a critic than Mr. Edmund Gosse. Mr. Gosse explains 'evolution' thus: "The term 'evolution' in poetical criticism describes the mode in which a poem is built up, or grows up, like a building or a tree into a certain form which is the most proper and sufficient for the thoughts and images which possess the poet's mind", and, he goes on to say: "The least inspired of Gray's Odes has this peculiarity that it starts from a point which the poet has fixed upon, covers a certain area of thought which he has actually measured, and closes inevitably at the moment *when he has said all that occurs to him and no more.*"

The phrase italicised is meaningless. No one, not even Mr. Gosse, can say more than what occurs to him. But this is by the way. I must confess, however, that I do not find any peculiarity of this kind in Gray's poems. To me it appears that they will lose nothing of their poetic quality if a few verses or even stanzas are omitted, or some more in a similar strain added. Elsewhere, Mr. Gosse talks of Gray's power of "maintaining the same severe elevation throughout a long lyrical piece", and says that Gray's view of a poem was that "it should have a vertebrate form." I am not aware of any particularly long lyrical piece by Gray, nor is any organic structure of design obvious in his poems. By 'evolution' Arnold means something different, however, since he proceeds to explain 'evolution' as the source from which the poetry is worked up, whether merely from the intellect or from the inmost depths of the soul, and says that Gray's poetry illustrates

the latter case. Arnold's meaning is all the clearer when he proceeds to quote *extracts* from Dryden and Pindar to illustrate his idea of the difference between superficial evolution and the evolution of genuine poetry.

Arnold takes great pains to explain Gray's scantiness, apparently forgetting the canon he himself elsewhere lays down. It is amusing to see the stern and unbending judge lapsing, for once, into an advocate of Gray. Of Chaucer he writes :—"And yet I say Chaucer is not one of the great classics ; he has not their accent . . . We praise him, but we feel that this accent is out of the question for him. It may be said that it was necessarily out of the reach of any poet in the England of that stage of growth. Possibly, but we are to adopt a real, not a historic estimate of poetry." Arnold, who says Chaucer is not one of our great classics, still concedes the distinction of a classic to Gray. Arnold says, "He (Gray) is the scantiest and frailest of our classics in our poetry, but he is a classic." And he proceeds to explain Gray's sterility by saying that "Gray, a born poet, fell upon an age of prose". This is, indeed, a plausible theory. But may we not say, with equal truth, that the genuine poet is irrepressible, does not feel fettered by his age, but breaks his shackles and founds an epoch. The poet that makes no headway against the conventionalities of his age is of necessity a mediocre one. No doubt it is strange that one whose learning was so great and whose acquirements were so varied should have been unable, in spite of leisure and ease, to produce much. But Nature is freakish. And as Arnold himself says of Heine, "There is so much power, so many seem able to run well, so many give promise of running well—so few reach the goal, so few are chosen. *Many are called, few chosen.*" Perhaps the best explanation of Gray's scantiness is his own, which is at once candid and true. He says, "If I do not write much, it is because I cannot." His poetic talent, though distinguished, was stinted ; and what is there to prevent us from saying, in spite of Matthew Arnold, that to make a classic of Gray is absurd, "that his genius and resources were small, and that his production, therefore, was small also," and that the popularity of his 'Elegy' has, indeed, created for Gray a reputation far beyond his deserts?

Not only is Gray's production scanty, but in his poems the language and phraseology of Milton and Dryden are freely borrowed and used with little reserve, and the verses often receive their dignity and beauty on account of the presence of these elements.

Had Gray written much, this would not have been so obvious as to compel attention, and no one would have cared to bring this as a serious charge; but when he has written so little and that little shines in borrowed feathers, there is every justification for the charge made by Wordsworth when he described Gray as "filching now from one author and now from another."

What was Gray's estimate of his own poetry? Arnold does not take it seriously. Gray "could not bear to be thought a professed man of letters, but wished to be regarded as a private gentleman who wrote for his amusement." That is to say, he confessed he was an amateur who amused himself with poetry. Amateurs' performances are rarely of a superior order, and they are never free from faults. And Gray was modest as well as candid. Of Dryden he writes, "If there was any excellence in his own numbers, he had learned it wholly from that great poet." Thus Gray would attribute his excellence to the influence of Dryden. But Arnold is more discerning when he says: "Of the intellectualities, ingenuities, personifications, of the movement and diction of Dryden and Pope, Gray caught something, caught too much. We have little of Gray's poetry, and that little is not free from the faults of his age." It is true that if there is any excellence in Gray's poetry, it is in spite of Dryden's unhealthy influence.

It is surprising how a fine poetic temperament can tolerate the endless and meaningless personifications in which it is Gray's delight to indulge in almost every verse. As Coleridge says, "It depends wholly on the compositor's putting or not putting a capital, whether the words should be personifications or mere abstracts." Again, an abrupt alliterative beginning may strike the commonplace mind as very striking, brilliant and effective; and I have heard the line, "Ruin seize thee, ruthless King," repeated with evident approbation. Such an idle artifice is, however, apparent to a critical mind like Johnson's, which dives into the innermost motive and significance of speech, and it certainly ruins any attempt at sublimity. Much of Johnson's criticism being in a similar disparaging strain, sympathetic critics who affect originality have come to Arnold's easy conclusion: "Johnson was not by nature fitted to do justice to Gray and to his poetry. This by itself is a sufficient explanation of the deficiencies of his criticism of Gray." Again, "Gray disliked Johnson, and refused to make his acquaintance. One might fancy that Johnson wrote with some irritation from this cause." And again, "Johnson was not naturally in

sympathy with Gray, whose life he had to write, and when he wrote he was in a hurry besides." I do not understand what Arnold means by these remarks. If he means that a critic should approach his subject with sympathy, with enthusiasm, with a bias in his favour and a pre-disposition to praise him, surely no criticism is worth having which takes up such an attitude. Ought not criticism, according to Arnold himself, to be *disinterested*? It only illustrates the difficulty of shaking off the usual conventionalities of criticism even by the mind which has formulated such rigid and remorseless literary canons. Another charge made against Johnson is that he was in a hurry. If so, Johnson may be trusted to stand or fall by the real value of his criticism, and he does not need the apology which those not in agreement with him are so forward to make on his behalf. If Lord Macaulay has said that Johnson's 'Life of Gray' is the worst of Johnson's 'Lives,' we will take that remark with the qualification with which that nobleman's remarks usually have to be taken. In spite of all that is said against him, how sympathetic and generous is Johnson's final judgment on Gray's poetry! "To say that he has no beauties would be unjust. A man like him of great learning and great industry could not but produce something valuable."

C. SUNDRIER.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

IN our June issue we referred to the coming union of the Calcutta colleges of the United Free Church and the Established Church of Scotland. We are now able to give some further details. The name of the new united institution is to be 'Calcutta Christian College,'—surely a happy augury of a harmonious co-operation like that which has marked the history of the united 'Madras Christian College'! Advantage is to be taken of the new strength which union will bring to arrange a course of instruction in the theory of education, with a view to presenting candidates for the Calcutta L. T. & B. T. degrees. As we surmised, Dr. Duff's original site in Cornwallis Square is to be the site of the Calcutta Christian College. The union of the colleges, moreover, is only part of a more inclusive union of the entire mission work which the two Churches have hitherto been carrying on independently in Calcutta. This will henceforth be locally under the control of a single Mission Council, and the united agency will be called 'The Scottish Churches Mission.'

COMMENTS which have reached us publicly and privately on our remarks of last month regarding the possibility of effectively transforming the Hindu conceptions of *karma* and re-incarnation to a Christian use, encourage us to think that those remarks were timely. Evidently, however, one or two points require to be emphasized. In the first place, absolutely nothing is to be gained by a merely mechanical piecing together of ideas from different sources. In the course of a private letter called forth by the suggestions in our notes, a respected Hindu correspondent hints that the greatest benefit that humanity is to derive from the British advent into India may prove to be that Hindus "will evolve a mixture out of the best conceptions of the East and the West, better than either individually." We are utterly convinced that a "mixture" must necessarily be worse than either, because it must be destitute of intellectual and spiritual vitality. It is not thus that thought advances. We have already the mixture that is needed, —the mixture of *persons* of different faiths. Such a mixture must act as a stimulus to any living religion, causing it to react upon its new environment and to express itself in ways which, although they may be novel in its own history, prove upon examination to be true expressions of its own distinctive attitude of faith. Ideas may be borrowed, but unless in the borrowing they are transformed, the borrowing is symptomatic of decaying vitality.

IN the second place it appears to be necessary to point out that the possibility at which we hinted last month of so adapting the Hindu conception of re-incarnation as to make it helpful to Christian faith and life, would, if it proved practicable, be an example of precisely the kind of borrowing described. It is simply a case of a need which was already implicit in Christianity being forced into prominence by contact with Hindu conceptions in the matter. The need for a wider horizon than the 'one-life theory' affords was felt in mediæval Christianity. But the earthly life was at that time conceived as serving no other religious purpose than probation, and so the extension of the horizon to other planes of self-conscious existence became merely an extension of the process of probation and discipline—the Roman 'Purgatory.' Among Protestant Christians the same feeling of the need of a wider horizon is, we believe, not uncommon, although it has not taken shape in doctrine. Our own suggestion last month that some support for such a view might be found in Christ's own words was taken from the pages of a German Protestant theologian—the late Dr. Beyschlag —who certainly shows us traces of being influenced by Indian thought. The need for a wider horizon, then, seems to be a need of Christian thought itself. For our own part, we believe that the hypothesis of other planes of self-conscious existence, distinct alike from this world and

from the final consummation or 'heaven' might help to bring into more harmonious relation two elements of New Testament teaching, the conception of this world as a preparation for a higher and the conception of it as itself the scene of a fulfilment of the Kingdom of God in a Christianised civilisation. What contact with Hindu conceptions does is to bring into clearer consciousness this need of Christian thought for a wider horizon, and perhaps to suggest a way of meeting the need. But if we borrow the Hindu conception of re-incarnation, this does not mean that we can accept it without the modifications required to make it serve our purpose. This life, so far as we can see, would have to be regarded as the first life, and re-incarnation would take place only into other planes of self-conscious being. Moreover, it is difficult to think that the hypothesis can have religious and moral, as distinct from metaphysical, value unless some continuity of memory be postulated between the earthly life and subsequent soul-embodiments. At best, however, the hypothesis ought to be treated as a hypothesis only. 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate' was Jesus' answer to over-curious questioning. Although we may peer into the future with reverent interest in its mystery of hope and fear, our concern is with the present.

One other point we would touch on before passing from this subject. The correspondent whom we have already quoted writes:—"The application of the law of *karma* to a race or to a nation or to humanity as a whole, and not merely to the individual, is quite in consonance with the law of evolution; and our allegory that the earth rests on the thousand heads of Adi-sesha (literally, starting or first balance) really means that this world is but the result of the unspent *karma* of another world; and thus we see the great law applied to universal systems and unthinkably eternal cycles." Simlarly, the correpondent who writes in our correspondence column this month claims that our conception of a race-*karma* is "as old as the Advaita school." We should be delighted if this could be proved to be the case, but we greatly doubt it. The Vedantic conception of cycles of evolution and involution, the universe being absorbed into Brahman and coming forth again, certainly implies a *karmic* connection between each world-system and the preceding. But is not the connection simply the *sum* of the *karma* of all individuals, and do not all the individuals have to consume exactly their own *karma*? Has Indian thought ever entertained the conception of the race as collectively privileged to consume the *karma* of all its individual members, the consumption not necessarily being allocated according to individual merit and responsibility? That, we take it, is the Christian conception,

THE *Examiner* has published the complete text of the new Papal Syllabus together with extracts from an article in the columns of *Rome* dealing therewith. The purpose of the 'Syllabus' is best described in the words of its own preamble. "It is to be greatly deplored that among Catholics also not a few writers are to be found who, crossing the boundaries fixed by the Fathers and by the Church herself, seek out, on the plea of higher intelligence and in the name of historical considerations, that progress of dogmas which is in reality the corruption of the same. But lest errors of this kind, which are daily spread among the faithful, should strike root in their minds and corrupt the purity of the faith, it has pleased his Holiness Pius X., by Divine Providence Pope, that the chief among them should be noted and condemned through the office of this Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition. Wherefore after a most diligent investigation, and after having taken the opinion of the Reverend Consultors, the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords Cardinals, the General Inquisitors in matters of faith and morals, decided that the following propositions are to be condemned and proscribed, as they are, by this general Decree, condemned and proscribed." Hereupon follow sixty-five propositions.

REGARDING the issue of this Syllabus the writer in *Rome* comments as follows:—"One does not need to be a prophet to know how this most important pronouncement of the Catholic Church will be treated by a large section of the daily press. The Church has found it prudent to entrust the examination of the whole complex question to a body of experts who have spent their lives studying religious questions. For over two years they have devoted the most searching investigation to it; a special commission among them has been formed; the conclusions reached have been sifted, discussed, turned about in every possible way and looked at from all points of view, and it is only after all this labour that the decisions have been drawn up, submitted to and approved by the Sovereign Pontiff, and given to the world. The anti-Papal editor does not find it necessary to follow this procedure. The sixty-five condemned propositions are put into his hand at 10 P.M., and at midnight he has handed over to the printer his own Syllabus of the errors of the Holy Office."

WE do not ourselves propose to follow the tactics of the supposed anti-Papal editor. The number of the condemned propositions to which in their exact wording—and of course in such a case the wording is all-important—we should be forced, in spite of the condemnation, to give our own assent does not amount to more than about one-third of the whole. Moreover, we hold that, if authority is to be exercised in the definition of doctrine, it is well to exert it in the manner of the Syl-

labus, that is, by condemning the false rather than by formulating the true. There is less risk that way of obstructing the progress of thought. For truth is so organic a whole that even the best formulations of aspects of it are likely to require revision as insight advances; whereas, if there is any such thing as progress in theology and philosophy at all, surely it must become possible at times to conclude regarding certain specific propositions, or specific systems, that they have been tried and found wanting and that, in the precise form condemned, they are not and never can be true. Nevertheless, we may question the claim put forward by the Roman apologist quoted, that the Syllabus deserves to be regarded as authoritative because of the expert opinion that lies behind it and because of the care that has been exercised. If proposition LIX. were as false as we believe it to be substantially true, the case might be otherwise. If the Church possessed a guaranteed deposit of rigid doctrines, then might the conformity or non-conformity of present-day opinions with that standard be practically decided by the opinion of experts. But if Christianity is no body of doctrines, but is rather "a religious movement" having as the spring of its life and growth a new relationship of the soul to God established and rendered possible by Christ, then the case is different. To pronounce upon the ultimate compatibility with Christianity of the theological tendencies of the hour is like trying to write a scientific history of one's own times. In both cases the opinion of the specialist, although it is held with a clearer consciousness of reasons and of possible alternatives, has no more finality than that of the layman, for layman and specialist are alike children of the age.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Lord Curzon's Farewell Speeches. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Essays, by R. P. Karkaria. Bombay: Thacker & Co.: 1907.

UNDER this title, Messrs. Thacker & Co., Bombay, have published an edition, by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, of speeches made by Lord Curzon during the last few weeks of his residence in India, and of the speech at the Pilgrims' Club in London in April, 1906. Many of the speeches are brief, and a little perfunctory—replies to farewell addresses from Municipal Councils and the like; we need not look to them for statements of high policy, or intimate self-revelation. But the bigger and more important speeches constitute, in some sort, Lord Curzon's *Apologia pro Administratione sua*, and as such deserve to be read with attention by all who have a care for the government and for the pros-

pects of India. To judge by these speeches, no one would set the late Viceroy very high among the orators of the world. His utterances are clear and sensible, but for the most part rather ordinary. There are no trenchant epigrams, no haunting cadences, no special felicities of expression. It is honest, straightforward, unromantic prose, devoid of rhetoric, devoid of eloquence.

The most interesting feature of these speeches is the help they may give us in gauging the personality that was amongst us so lately. It is not difficult, after reading them, to understand the impression he has made on so many of a masterful, imperious, and interfering statesman, who does not know how to leave things alone. But whether this is to be set down to his credit or not, depends on your point of view. To one critic, the man is "autocratic"—and, therefore, execrable; to another, this ubiquitous interference is but the index of superlative capacity combined with a superlative conscientiousness. Creditable or not, it stands forth here without disguise. There is something almost naive in the speaker's disclosure of his determination to have a hand in everything. Autocracy may be open to criticism as an ideal of government; but here at least, it is free from the selfishness that shirks either work or responsibility; Lord Curzon manifestly did not spare himself.

It is refreshing to find a man who so evidently believes in himself. In these days of morbid self-consciousness, ironical self-depreciation, and pusillanimous want of self-sufficiency, his robust belief in his own powers, his own destiny, and his own achievements, comes as a welcome contrast. The "superior person" may move an indulgent smile; but he will win a following, and do a work, that his *blasé* critics can never hope to rival. Equally patent, and hardly less welcome, is his belief in England, and in England's work in and for India. But best of all, alike as a sign of a spirit we can admire in the man, and in the earnest it gives for the future, is his belief in India. However we may disagree as to practical measures, all who love India do well to recognise and to welcome the love in one another. Not for one class alone, but for all the ranks and races of this peninsula, we find here the tokens of a genuine good-will and enthusiasm.

A man inspired by such beliefs is a man to be reckoned with—by friends as well as by foes. Lord Curzon's departure from England must have been welcome to many of his allies and colleagues; he was too restless, too sure of himself, to be the most comfortable of political bedfellows. His return to England, with his foibles, perhaps, and his claims to recognition, accentuated by his Viceroyalty, presents the same old problem in an acuter form. If only his health permits, he ought to brighten English politics in the near future.

The goal of all Lord Curzon's activity in India may be said to have been organized efficiency. We are already testing the measure

of success he achieved in reaching this object. He claims, not without reason, that the seal of success was already set on many of his achievements (*e. g.*, the creation of the Frontier Province) before he left India; and it is hard to deny that time has falsified many of the Jeremiahs of his critics. The days of his power, for good or for evil, in our actual administration, are past; but the influence of his ideals may remain. It is to be hoped that the aspirations breathed in these speeches may long animate those who were his colleagues and subordinates in India, and all whom he can influence at home. In contrast with the empty imperialism of the Jingoes and the self-styled Liberal Imperialists, it shadows forth an imperialism, but faintly understood as yet, which no statesman has consciously proclaimed, no party frankly and considerately adopted, but which gave the pathos and classic tone to "The White Man's Burden." Whether our sympathy with his personal aims and politics be great or small, surely we may all wish long life and health and strength to a statesman who promises to infuse something of this spirit into imperial administration.

Mr. Karkaria supplements the speeches with notes, introductions, and essays. They are well-written, eulogistic in tone, and frankly Anglophile. In their defence of Lord Curzon and the English administration they remind us at times of the old saying, "Save us from our friends."

An Introductory History of England from Henry VII. to the Restoration. By C. R. L. Fletcher, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; with maps. London: John Murray: 1907. Price 5*s.*

We have received from Mr. John Murray the second volume of 'An Introductory History of England,' by Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. In his prefatory epistle (to Mr. A. F. Pollard) the author offers a tentative apology for his 'crabbed, tortuous and elliptic English,' which is not wholly uncalled-for. The gift of smooth, lucid and attractive statement is not Mr. Fletcher's distinguishing characteristic, and we notice rather too frequently a touch of something below the level a historian may be expected to observe, not only in the frequent colloquialisms (such as don't, can't, etc.,) but also in some of the jibes and sneers, and oblique, satirical references to modern politics. These things may not be out of place in the lecture room; they are particularly fitted to a popular and extempore style. But when a historian gives hostages to fortune, he should remember the dignity of his subject, and endeavour to support his own.

The title, 'Introductory History,' suggests a question: to what is it an introduction? As a work for schools, for the reading of boys and girls, we could hardly commend it, if only for the defect just indicated.

For older readers, not yet professed students of history, it has a good deal in its favour. It is not a book for beginners. Many of its references are so casual, and presuppose so much knowledge, as to be bewildering to any one not fairly well acquainted with the facts. Events, achievements, are neither stated nor explained; they are alluded to as results of the causes here traced, or as significant examples. But this is no defect, where the bare facts are already known. As introductory to the bigger histories—the works of specialists for specialists—the book is good. Big questions are handled broadly, candidly, and for the most part justly. Many of the judgments will be unpalatable to many readers; but there is an honesty of conviction about them that robs them of their sting.

The significance of the reign of James I. with all that it involved for his successors—his influence on Charles I.'s career, and the necessity of the Cromwellian foreign policy—may be referred to as a favourable example of the method of the book; the point-blank dismissal of the idea that there was no change in the Church at the Reformation, as an example of frank, commonsense criticism The faults of the book are in manner rather than in matter; its sympathies are healthy, for the most part, and will tend to elicit admiration for the right men and the right causes. Its tone is nothing if not English; but it is frankly observant of England's faults.

Not the least interesting feature of the book is to be found in the chapters (a sequel to those in Vol. I) which trace the fortunes of a Sussex family, the squires of Tubney, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They present in concrete form the issues on which our fathers had to make up their minds; they link the history to the historical novel. Altogether, for those who, with some knowledge of the events recorded, want to learn something more of the significance of the period, the book may be recommended. It is solid and healthy, though lacking in the graces of style and method.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE *Bookman* asks whether the popularity of the novel is on the wane. "The question is not merely chimerical. It is a well-established fact that within the last two years, there has been a remarkable growth of interest in historical memoirs—not merely of the *chronique scandaleuse* order—and that fiction is finding a powerful rival in biography. The essay, after a long decline, has also been rearing its head. It seems too good to be true—but is it the case, we wonder, that we are at last going to reap the result of the cheap reprint in an improved public taste!"

THE same magazine announces that "Lucas Malet" (Mrs. St. Leger Harrison) is planning a new novel—a story of English country life covering the last fifty years. We shall hope it will be less gruesome than one of her recent productions.

FROWDE has just published a very sumptuous edition of *Christabel* —an edition due largely to the Royal Society of Literature and to the piety of Coleridge's grand-children. It includes a photographic facsimile of a copy of *Christabel*, made by the poet for Sarah Hutchinson in 1800; an essay by the editor on the sources and history of the poem; a reprint of the text of 1834, with a collation of the five known manuscripts and the first edition 1816, as well as a number of other important features. The learned *Athenæum* reviewer declares it to be "a fitting tribute to one of the most musical and magical of our poets—a worthy shrine for the loveliest of his creations."

THE recent death of Mr. George Croal, in Edinburgh, at the age of ninety-seven, has led a number of journals to note the interesting fact that Mr. Croal, in 1827, was present in the Assembly Room when Scott first openly avowed his authorship of the Waverley Novels. Scott to most of us has already receded so far into the dim distance that it is difficult to realise that there may be persons yet alive who knew him

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LOVERS of Dickens, and they are not a few, will be glad to learn that a new Dictionary of Dickens is to be published by Messrs. Routledge. The work is being compiled by Mr. A. J. Philip, and it proposes to contain all the characters and the scenes of his novels and other works, arranged in alphabetical order. The characteristics of the places and the people will be given by quotations from the works.

HAZLITT has found an admirer in France of the highest literary gifts. Recently a French Professor, Mr. Jules Donady, has written a life of this writer which, in the opinion of competent critics, far surpasses in grace and accuracy anything published in English. It may be that Hazlitt appeals in some peculiar way to the French temperament, but his comparative neglect in England does not render it probable that he will ever be widely acceptable across the Channel.

THE publishers of the Dictionary of National Biography, not content with their Herculean task, now propose to issue it in a less expensive form. Unquestionably the size of the present work is almost prohibitive

except for the large libraries—it consists of sixty-six volumes—and a smaller edition would probably find a larger sale. It is now proposed to condense these into about a third of the space and to issue an edition of twenty-two volumes.

THE world has lost one of the most distinguished of philologists in the death of the Norwegian Professor, Sophus Bugge. He devoted a long life of study to the northern languages and Scandinavian culture of the Viking age. His standard work on the Edda appeared as far back as 1867.

A SHORT time ago we noted the number of matriculated students at the German universities. The recent summer session showed no diminution. There were no fewer than 46,655. Berlin and Munich have each over 6,000, while Leipsic exceeds 4,000.

A YEAR or two ago much interest was aroused by the investigations of Dr. Russell H. Chittenden into the question of nutrition. The impression then made by his articles will be deepened by the publication of a course of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute of Boston, under the title, "The Nutrition of Man." Dr. Chittenden stands in the front rank of physiologists, more particularly in matters of diet and physiological chemistry, and his investigations and experiments as recorded in these lectures are bound largely to influence the general ideas, or want of ideas, regarding food.

SCIENCE NOTES.

THE great demand for india-rubber for electrical purposes and for the tyres of motor, bicycle, and carriage wheels has led to efforts being made to recover waste rubber. Mr. Walter Reid, in a paper on the subject read before the Society of Chemical Industry, points out that one great difficulty in the way of doing this arises from various mineral substances such as French chalk and magnesium carbonate being incorporated with the rubber by the manufacturers, while the caoutchouc itself is partially replaced by substitutes usually consisting of oil, heated with sulphur, or otherwise solidified. A still greater difficulty is due to the fact that india-rubber is usually heated with sulphur before use. This process of vulcanisation enables the rubber to resist changes of temperature, but in Mr. Reid's opinion is probably the cause of the rapid deterioration of modern rubber, the combined sulphur being slowly oxidised with the formation of traces of sulphuric acid, which act upon the caoutchouc and render it brittle. Pure, crude india-rubber

will keep for a very long time, and pieces over sixty years old are known which still show no signs of deterioration.

PAPER obtained from the bamboo has long been known for its excellent quality, the Chinese obtaining some of their finest paper from this source. Some years ago an English manufacturer formed bamboo plantations in Jamaica for the purpose of making paper. He found, however, that the cost of preparing the pulp was so expensive that he could not make the paper a commercial success. The most difficult part of the process he found to be the separation of the fibre from the gum which causes the fibres of the stalk to adhere together and form the knots. That the gum which forms a knot is of a very tenacious character is shown by the fact that the bamboo has never been known to break at this point. In Burma the local Government is seeking to encourage the native paper-making industry by offering land rent-free for twenty-one years to anyone who erects a mill on it for the manufacture of bamboo pulp, reserving areas for the exclusive cutting of bamboos for the mills, and granting other concessions.

IN an article in *Knowledge* on the "Examination of Handwriting" Mr. C. A. Mitchell says that carbon ink, composed of lamp-black and glue, was probably given up at the time when parchment was adopted as a writing material instead of papyrus, as it would be difficult to apply and easily removed from the surface of the skin. In an encyclopaedia of the eleventh century, a recipe is given for making ink from thorn wood and green vitriol. Iron tannin inks must, however, have been in use three or four centuries before this, as there are MSS. of the seventh century in which the writing is perfectly black, showing that there was neither excess nor defect in the amount of iron used. Such ink now consists in the main of an extract of galls or other source of tannin mixed with a solution of iron sulphate. When protected from oxidation this is a very pale fluid, which only darkens slowly on contact with the air, though eventually it forms a deep black tannate of iron. In the older type of ink this darkening process was allowed to take place in the ink itself, so that it contained an insoluble powder in suspension which gave black characters at once on the paper. This ink lacked penetrating power and could sometimes be washed off the paper; it was, besides, very apt to clog the pen.

IRON ink is now supplied in an unoxidised state and the oxidation takes place within the fibres of the paper, leaving an insoluble pigment which is difficult to remove. The writing would be very pale at first if it were not that what is termed a "provisional" colouring matter is

added to the ink to make the writing sufficiently dark before oxidation takes place. Indigo is used by some manufacturers for this purpose, and is the source of the blue in many of the "blue-black" inks. Aniline dyes are used by others, whilst logwood extract is found in some of the "purple-black" and "violet-black" inks, and vanadium salts in other unoxidised inks. There are also numerous inks in which logwood extract mixed with copper salts, alum or chromates is the chief constituent, and others which are mainly solutions of aniline dyestuffs. When writing is tested with appropriate reagents, pronounced differences are observed according to the kind of ink which has been used. For example, words written with a blue-black ink containing indigo are nearly bleached when treated with a ten per cent. solution of oxalic acid, while aniline black writing is not affected by oxalic acid, but nearly bleached by bromine water.

THE existing division of the surface of the earth into continental and oceanic regions is traced by Professor A. E. H. Love to the operation of simple dynamical laws. In a paper on the subject contributed to the Royal Society, he shows that when gravitating matter is heterogeneous, there is always a tendency for the density to increase where it is above the average and to diminish where it is below the average. Such changes of density imply compression of the material. Now the average resistance to compression of the materials of which the earth is composed, can be deduced from the observed velocity of propagation of earthquake shocks, and it is found to be decidedly greater than that of any known material at the surface. This indicates increase of resistance under great pressure, and as a very large proportion of the land lies within a great circle having its centre in South-eastern Europe, the resistance to compression must have been once much smaller than it is now. From this Professor Love deduces the fact that the centre of gravity of the earth does not coincide with its centre of figure and explains the maintenance of the Pacific Ocean on one side of the globe as due to the eccentric position of the centre of gravity. This eccentric position is thus to be regarded as "a survival from a past state in which the resistance to compression was too small for a spherically symmetrical configuration to be stable."

THE records that were obtained of the Columbian and San Francisco earthquakes of 31st January and 18th April, 1906, have been examined by Mr. R. D. Oldham, with a view to see what light they would throw on the question whether the distribution of the continents and oceans is a mere surface irregularity or arises from a deep-seated difference in the constitution of the earth. He arrives at the conclusion that

the continents and oceans are accompanied by, and probably related to, diffe ences in the constitution of the earth beneath them, which extend to a depth of about one-quarter of the earth's radius. It is not possible to say exactly in what this difference consists, but that there is a difference is indicated by the fact that the rate of propagation of the second-phase waves of earthquakes is less, in comparison with that of the first-phase waves, under the oceans than under the continents.

AN important work on the voice has been published by Felix Alcan, Paris, consisting of a course of lectures delivered by M. Pierre Bonnier at the Paris Conservatoire de Musique. The theory that a vocal tone is produced by the vibrations of the margins of the vocal cords is shown to be an imperfect representation of what actually takes place. M. Bonnier lays stress on the variations of pressure which occur in the laryngeal cavity. The vocal cords are brought close together, and then, by an expiratory effort, the pressure below the cords becomes much greater than in the ventricles of Morgagni above the cords and in the upper part of the larynx. This increased pressure opens the chink of the glottis, and the cords are slightly stretched upwards. The air escapes, the cords again approximate, and there is a fall of pressure below the cords, whilst the pressure rises in the ventricles and in the upper part of the larynx. There is thus a puff of air, which is repeated again and again according to the period of the tone produced.

A SIMPLE lecture experiment to demonstrate the transformation of yellow phosphorus into the red variety is given by *Nature* as described by F. Zecchini in the *Gazetta*. Ordinary dry phosphorus is melted in a glass tube 30 cm. long and 8 mm. in diameter by surrounding the tube with a bath of concentrated sulphuric acid, the temperature of which is gradually raised to 180°. Sufficient phosphorus should be used to give about 10 c.c. of liquid. When the whole has melted, a minute crystal of iodine is added. As the crystal falls through the molten mass, the immediate transformation of the latter into red phosphorus becomes clearly visible.

IN the *Contemporary Review* Dr. A. T. Schofield describes experiments with an instrument called the "sthenometer" which is said to measure "nerve force." The instrument consists of a straw balanced on a needle point and placed under a glass case. When a hand is brought close to the glass a motion of the straw is observed. This has been shown by Messrs. F. J. M. Stratton and P. Phillips to be simply due to the heat radiated from the hand. Hot objects produce the same

effect, and the extent of the motion varies with the heat radiated by the hand as tested by a thermopile.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[*Thillai Govindan's* 'lecture' on 'Religious Reform,' together with our editorial reflections there-anent, has called forth a letter which is of some interest as a symptom of the spirit of the time. Unfortunately the letter is so long that we can only quote the merest fragments.—Ed.]

"LET me congratulate *Thillai Govindan* upon his 'lecture' on religious reform. I was anxiously looking for the conclusion. The hopes that the first part of the lecture inspired have not been disappointed: they have been fulfilled far above my anticipations. The end is, happily, free from the usual hysterics and glorification. The finger has been laid on both the strength and the weakness of Hinduism.

The concessions that *Thillai Govindan* makes are great; to many 'religious' Hindus they are too great. The concessions that you, Sir, make in the editorial notes are equally great; but I fear there will be the same difficulty in the way of the Christian world at large accepting them, though reason and commonsense speak so strongly for them. New ideas, or even old wines in new bottles, have ever had, in the mass of mankind, a great and formidable enemy—Philistinism.

In the course of your remarks on *Thillai Govindan's* lecture you say :—" With Thillai Govindan, as with very many others, this reaction has reached the point of protesting that all elements of fatalism must be eliminated from the conception of *karma*. That is a great advance." Surely it is. I can readily include myself in the 'many others'; I have had very often to fight with 'religious' Hindus for this elimination. I see as much mischief in this aspect of *karma* as in a too literal interpretation of 'the will of God,' 'the power that shapes the destinies of men.' Speaking for myself, I find that the new view of *karma*—making the individual *with the whole world besides* responsible for his deeds and thoughts, investing in him the power to make or mar his destiny—this view is as old as the Advaita school.

Further on in the editorial notes I read that without Christianity in India there would have been no Thillai Govindan, no 'Miscellany.' I dare say that is so; only adding, it is the weakness of the Christian missionary rather than Christianity itself that has awakened India—the weakness of the apostles of Christ for hurling invectives and abuse at the gods, religion and morality of the Indians. But I am bound to say that the tone is softening and is making a nearer and nearer approach to the voice of Christ, whose 'mild gentleness and sweet reasonableness' had been left so far behind.

India is in no crisis that would throw her into the open arms of the dogmatic church, for she has had enough of treatment at the hands of dogmas of her own and has hardly recovered from the effects; but she is in a crisis to become her own self—the commercial, industrious and enterprising India that she was, the India that produced a Porus and a Prithwiraj, a Kapila, a Buddha, a Sankara, a Ramanuja and a Rama Krishna.

S. VENKATAPATHAIYA.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE *Contemporary Review* for July opens with articles on the recent visit of British journalists to Germany by Mr. Sidney Low and the Editor, Mr. P. W. Bunting. Mr. Low says the visit to Germany turned out to be a much more interesting and important affair than had been anticipated by those who took part in it. They had looked forward to some friendly intercourse, chiefly with journalists and men of letters, but they did not expect that the German nation at large would bestow any particular notice upon them. They were surprised, therefore, to find that they were being made the objects of a really striking demonstration, in which representatives of all classes were concerned. They discovered that the occasion had been seized to show to them, and, through them, to their countrymen, that Germany is not universally hostile to England; that the fire-eaters who are stirring up strife and bitterness daily do not express the thoughts and wishes of the vast majority of Germans; and that these latter, so far from welcoming the project of a quarrel with England, would regard it with the utmost repugnance and dismay. Mr. Sidney Low and his fellow-journalists received gratifying tokens of good-will, not merely from those whom they met at banquets and receptions, but from those whom they encountered in the streets and public places; and they saw no trace of coldness or hostility anywhere. And the explanation, he says, was simply because he and his fellow-journalists were supposed to represent, in a higher degree than any of those other British commissions and delegations which have been seen in Germany, the people of Britain as a whole. As to whether any permanent results will ensue from the striking manifestation of good feeling which the visit called forth, Mr. Sidney Low thinks that that will depend mainly upon the Press, and especially upon the Press of Great Britain. Most of the mischief-making on both sides is done by newspapers which possess but little weight, and the capacity of these for mischief would be very much reduced if those who are responsible for the great newspapers would see that writings which represent only the vanity and folly or the malignity of obscure individuals are rated at their proper value. Another thing that careful British journalists might do is to disabuse the minds of their readers of the idea that everything that is printed in a German newspaper is inspired. It would be easier, Mr. Low says, on account of the excessive concentration of newspaper enterprise and influence in London, to work the English Press than to work the German, which has important representatives in a large number of great towns.

Mr. Bunting says that two impressions stand out prominently among those which were made on himself and his fellow-journalists. The first is that the great mass of the German people as well as the German Government are very wishful and even anxious to be on good terms with England. The second is the convic-

tion of the greatness of the German nation: not merely its economic advance, though that is noticeable to the most casual observer, but the strength and determination with which the people have taken in hand those problems of city life with which the English people are beginning to struggle.

Mr. Low and Mr. Bunting both take note of a certain nervousness from which the German nation too often suffers. This, they say, is a result of the struggle by which Germany has won its way to nationhood. Germans are racked by the fear that the prosperity and security which have been won at last may not endure, and they are furious at the thought that these may be destroyed. The appetite for expansion, which is one of the symptoms of a healthy, vigorous, national growth, is strong in Germany, but stronger still is the instinct for self-preservation and defence. Germans are not eaten up with pride, aggressiveness, and domineering ambition to the extent which the fire-eaters try to make out, but they want to be strong and able to defend what they have secured.

Mr. H. W. Massingham deals with the problem of the reform of the House of Lords and the difficulty that confronts the Liberal Party. He says that while the country has been getting more Radical, and while the Socialist movement, which in conception is revolutionary, has more and more affected English political thinking, the House of Lords has not only retained but increased its ability to keep things as they are. And for Liberals, he says, no solution of the problem lies either through the reform of the House of Lords or in the Referendum. The House of Lords cannot be reformed from without, and all through the last century it has consistently resisted the attempts, even of Conservative statesmen, to reform it from within. And on the assumption that it is unchanged, it would, if the Referendum were put into operation, act, as it has done in the past, only against the Liberal Party. That is, the Peers would 'refer' only Liberal Bills, or, to put it otherwise, only ask the people "to repent of the impulse under which it had put a Liberal Government in power". The only course for the Liberal Government to pursue is in Mr. Massingham's opinion that which they have actually taken, that is, the plan of attempting to secure the predominance of the House of Commons.

'Optimism or Pessimism?' Such is the title of an article in which Mr. George Barlow calls attention to the change which has come over religious thought since the time when Kingsley, Maurice, Stopford Brooke, Mazzini, Emerson, Francis Newman, Theodore Parker, Tennyson, and George Macdonald, with their optimistic views of the world and human life, were the dominant forces among liberally-minded young men at the Universities. The last thirty years of the nineteenth century, he says, may be designated the optimistic period of the world's history. But the thought of that period, beautiful as it was, did not sufficiently face the facts of human life or of cosmic life. The optimistic movement of last century, Mr. Barlow says, would appear to have been in some respects premature. At all events it did not realise its aim. We are very far from that heaven upon earth which dreamers like Mazzini saw and towards the realisation of which their labours were directed. We ask questions which the thinkers of those days never asked, and are troubled by doubts which do not seem to have affected them. And all we can say in answer to our questions is "that a definite battle between humanity and some hostile invisible power is going on and has always been going on, a battle more deadly and protracted than the last century's optimists were able to imagine; that we and our efforts, our sins and our victories, are an integral portion of that eternal struggle; that we can directly conceive of the possibility of an actual physical transformation, through sacrifice, of a world in agony into a world of joy; that we can also conceive of the existence of a love so vast, so pure, so strong, that it 'passes knowledge', and may be able, in ways beyond our present comprehension, to reach down to depths of almost unimaginable pain, to grapple with forces of almost immeasurable evil; and that the one question for us is whether the words, 'that through

death He might destroy *him that had the power of death*', do, or do not, contain the literal truth."

Dr. G. Buchanan Gray contributes an article on 'The Comparative Criticism of Semitic Literature,' in which he exposes the fallacious nature of the arguments used by Mr. T. H. Weir in the article entitled 'Higher Criticism and the Korán,' which was published in the *Contemporary Review* for March. And first Dr Buchanan Gray points out that it is not the case, as Mr. Weir's article would seem to imply, that Old Testament criticism in the past has been mainly or exclusively the work of scholars unfamiliar with any Semitic literature except that of the Hebrews, or that the principles of literary criticism, which have wrought so great a revolution in the study of the Old Testament, have never been applied to other Semitic works. There is, he says, a higher criticism of the Korán as well as of the Book of Isaiah, and it has been the exception for eminent Hebrew and Old Testament scholars not to be familiar with several Semitic languages, and, consequently, to some extent, with Semitic literatures. Among Old Testament critics who have been distinguished Arabic scholars he mentions Eichhorn, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and Nöldeke.

Dealing with Mr. Weir's argument from the Korán against the contention of the higher critics that the earlier books of the Old Testament have been pieced together from different sources, Dr. Buchanan Gray points out that Mr. Weir has neglected to take account of crucial differences in the things compared, as when he compares the Korán with Samuel or Judges and not with the prophetic literature of the Bible. He has failed to grasp the *complete* argument for variety of authorship in some of the Biblical books. Dr. Buchanan Gray shows that his arguments, if sound, would lead to conclusions just the opposite of those which he desires to arrive at.

Mr. Havelock Ellis writes on 'The Art of Spain.' Spain, he says, is not a land of great painters. Within the sphere of the plastic arts the real predilection of the Spaniard is less for painting than for architecture and sculpture, and in spite of Velasquez there never has been a time when Spanish painting was really comparable to what, at one time or other, Flemish, Tuscan, Venetian, Dutch, and French painting have been. The dominant note of the Spanish temperament has always been *character*, and except in Velasquez, æsthetic sensibility is to be met with nowhere in Spanish art. The inspirations of art have usually come to Spain from the outside; and the basis of Spanish painting is northern and Flemish. The development of Spanish art on a Flemish basis was interrupted by an impulse of Italian origin, but for the most part the hard, deep-feeling, individualistic, sometimes rather violent, temper of the Spaniard could not be conciliated with the spirit of Italy, and it was only after a considerable time that a really fertile seed from Italy was scattered on Spanish soil. It was from the South of the Italian peninsula, a region which like Spain had been for a long time under Moorish influence and which had been part of the great domain of Spain, that this seed came. In recent times Spanish painters have for the most part allied themselves with those of France and have sought training and fame in Paris. And nearly all the Spanish painters of repute at the present time are either Basques or Catalans, that is, belong to the Spanish populations which in other fields are most energetic and successful.

Sir John Macdonell contributes a short article on the question of the capture of private property at sea. Writing on the assumption that England would at The Hague Conference oppose the exemption of private property from capture, he maintains that an opportunity which may not return, of settling the question in a rational manner, has been thrown away. He criticises the assumptions and arguments of those who defend the present practice, and more particularly enters his dissent from some of Admiral Mahan's pronouncements on the subject. He points out also that under the present system, it is not merely belligerent property that is liable to capture: the interests, security and property of neutrals are also subject to seizure.

The Earl of Cardigan criticises the proposals of the Government for dealing with the land question, more particularly their scheme for enabling small capitalists to become land owners. He thinks it is quite an open question whether agriculture in England is in the distressed condition in which it is said to be, and he is further of opinion that there is but a very limited demand on the part of *suitable persons* for small plots of land for farming purposes. It would certainly appear, he says, that with the very large acreage of Crown lands at their disposal to experiment with, the Government would do well for the present not to interfere with the prevailing state of affairs but to concentrate their attention on other points where legislation is more urgently required.

Mr. H. Morgan-Browne contributes an able and trenchant criticism of Mr. Deakin's arguments in favour of Colonial Preference. Mr. Deakin's contributions to Fiscal Reform, Mr. Morgan-Browne says are based on a too intensive view of international commerce, and exhibit a merely superficial acquaintance with his subject and an insufficient grasp of the complex character of the facts. British trade, he says, is by no means in such a bad state as Mr. Deakin tries to make out, and so far as the United Kingdom is concerned the remedies which Mr. Deakin proposes would not improve matters.

Mr. A. N. Jannaris gives a very brief account of some important archæological discoveries that have been made recently on the northern coast of Western Crete; Mr. G. G. Coulton continues his article on 'Priests and People before the Reformation', dealing more particularly with the social and moral life of England during the Middle Ages; and the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco writes in an interesting way on various beliefs that men have held regarding their relationship to the lower animals. Dr. Dillon devotes the greater part of his article on 'Foreign Affairs' to the doings of the Second Duma, which in his opinion was dissolved in the best interests of representative institutions in Russia. He thinks the new electoral law is a step in the right direction, and that whatever may be the outcome of the new measures, M. Stolypin has done his duty and deserves well of the community. The number concludes with the usual notices of recent books, the writer of which selects for special commendation the volume on Shakespeare, contributed by Mr. Walter Raleigh to the 'English Men of Letters'.

The Nineteenth Century opens with an article on 'England, Germany, and the Baltic.' Till 1905 when the Baltic was visited by a British squadron, that sea was scarcely regarded as being within the British sphere of interest. On that occasion, the German Press made a vigorous protest.

The passage from the North Sea to the Baltic consists of the Skager Rock and the Kattegat. The latter, which is about fifty miles wide, is suddenly blocked by a collection of islands, shoals and sandbanks; through these there are three passages. The Sound which is two miles broad at its narrowest part is dominated by Copenhagen. Through it most of the merchant shipping passes; but it is not deep enough for warships which have to go through the Great or the Little Belt. These three passages are strongly fortified, and may be considered closed against a purely naval attack; but a combined attack could take them in detail.

In a war Denmark might possibly manage to preserve neutrality; but her friendship would be valuable, as no warship could pass the Straits without her knowledge.

Germany has two naval harbours. Kiel on the Baltic is a deep and sheltered inlet with ample accommodation. Wilhelmshaven on the North Sea is a small port laboriously dug out of the mainland. By means of the Kiel canal the former port is virtually placed on the North Sea. The canal is fifty-five miles long and is furnished with numerous passing places. The mouth of the canal is twenty-five miles from open sea, and Heligoland acts as an outwork; so it may be said that the canal as well as the coast in its neighbourhood is secure against naval attack.

The Baltic coast is much more open to an enemy. Kiel is within gunshot

of the open sea; the coast is longer and more open; and also since Berlin is nearer, an invasion would more effectively relieve the pressure elsewhere.

In consequence of this double front, the German fleet can be held in check only by a fleet of at least double its strength. This scarcely holds true of the next few years, because the canal will not allow the German Dreadnoughts to pass, but it is to be deepened and widened at a cost of £11, 000, 000. A commercial blockade would not serve the purpose, for Germany's chief ports are Antwerp and Rotterdam.

The conclusion is that we should try to secure the friendship of Denmark; she would thus secure a market for her produce even in time of war. A close alliance would be a strong guarantee of peace.

Mr. S. M. Mitra writes on the discontent in India. He begins by saying that there is a natural antipathy between the Englishman and the Hindu. This is the basis on which the agitator works. The National Congress he denounces whole-heartedly. "The policy of the Congress is seldom rational. Instead of reasoned judgment, uncontrolled emotion is evident in its proceedings. The Congress party simply talk Utopian politics. Questions of vital importance to India are never even discussed." He goes on to deal with the mistakes of the Government. It allows its authority to be attacked with impunity. He thinks that prosecution of a newspaper in a court of law is a mistake. The Government, like those of the Native States, should use confiscation and suppression. Liberty of the Press may be a danger, not a privilege. In other ways Government prestige has been lowered; for example, the publication of the papers connected with the Curzon-Kitchener controversy of 1905 and the resignation of Sir B. Fuller in 1906. The authority of officers has been diminished with bad effects in many cases; for example, the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation is no longer Police Commissioner.

Some of the I. C. S. successful candidates are undesirables; some slight power of weeding would be an advantage. The standard for the knowledge of the Vernacular should also be raised. The writer asks for more courtesy on the part of European officials to the Indians.

Education he considers to have been badly mismanaged; the beliefs of the students have been undermined without anything being supplied to take their place. He remarks that sedition should be punished socially as well as by law.

He goes on to make suggestions for the future. The gradual abandonment of power by the Government is a blunder; and its measures should be timely and vigorous. This connects itself with the outcry against the combination of executive and judicial functions; Mr. Mitra says that the District Magistrate seldom tries cases, and that if he is to maintain the peace, he must have the Police directly under his orders. Like every one else he believes that the officials have too much desk work, which prevents them knowing what is going on. In deliberation, though not in the executive, native opinion might be represented. Government should issue accurate information, both to the Press and for posting on village notice boards. Government has been unlucky in its selection of days for important events.

He believes strongly in education; it has done more in fifty years to break down caste than the Moslem sword in eight hundred; but he thinks that the student is misled by the Congress. The views of Mr. R. C. Dutt as an official in no way differed from those of the English official. The evidence of Messrs. S. N. Banerji and G. K. Gokhale before Lord Welby's commission in 1897 ought to be reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed broadcast among Indian students. He thinks a Hindu and a Muhammadan, one a Barrister and the other a Judge, should be added to the India Council.

Mr. Lathbury writes on 'High Churchmen and Disestablishment.' Disestablishment is once more a practical question. It is doubtful if the present toleration of ritualistic practices can continue, and if it does not, it is the duty of High Churchmen to press for disestablishment. In towns the lack

of endowments would make little change, but the agricultural labourer is not very devoted to the church. Establishment lost its meaning when, in succession, Non-conformists, Roman Catholics, Jews and Atheists were admitted to the House of Commons. The one serious disadvantage would be that in a Free Church some decision would have to be come to on questions which in a State Church can be left open.

Stock Exchange reform is discussed by Mr. A. Leigh. The Stock Exchange offers a free market for securities, so it is to the principal's interest that the transaction should be carried out in the Exchange. But outside firms offer the broker a second commission; hence there is a strong inducement to take business outside. The Committee has no real control over these transactions, as it cannot summon both parties to give evidence; so the form of the contract note should show clearly whether the business was done inside or outside the house.

He thinks that in three directions the rules should be relaxed. The members should be allowed to advertise in an approved form; to have branch offices, and to have private telephones to the House.

Mr. W. O'Brien deals with the 'Breakdown in Ireland.' This is the first part of the article and, as far as one can judge, is meant chiefly to serve as an introduction to the second. The present part deals with the partial failure of Mr. Wyndham's land policy. This was not due to the Orange party which was at the time powerless.

The Land Bill was due to a retired Army Captain who without authority from any one proposed the meeting of four specified persons from each side. Captain Shaw Taylor made an unfortunate mistake in omitting the names of Messrs. Dillon, Davitt and Sexton. The proposal gained unexpected authority from Mr. Wyndham's offer to carry the Committee's decisions into law. The whole machinery moved with surprising smoothness, and the Bill became law with next to no opposition.

However this very smoothness aroused the anger of the three gentlemen mentioned above who feared that in this general feeling of good-will the Nationalist aspirations might be forgotten. So they set to work to discredit the Bill, but did not succeed in doing so till after it became law. They reduced the prices suggested by the official organization 22 and 18½ years' purchase to 17 and 13½; prices which were quite absurd, and they managed by so doing to break up the strong combination of tenants, so that the purchase of land went on fairly rapidly, but by independent bargaining, which was unfavourable to the tenant. One quarter of the land of the whole country was bought within six months. Mr. O'Brien regrets that Mr. Redmond, as leader of the party, did not openly denounce their propaganda.

There is a spirited reply to the article by the Comtesse de Franqueville in the last number. She mistakes, it is said, for public opinion the opinion of the Clerical and Nationalist set to which her experience has in the main been limited. The bishops approved of the associations which the Archbishop of Besançon proposed, and these were found to be in accordance with the law. This the Pope in his encyclical ignored. In the law the bishops are not mentioned, but the associations must be formed in accordance with "the general rules of organization of the religion of which they propose to ensure the practice;" that is, in the case of Catholic associations the bishops are to be obeyed. The form was the more suitable, that France is not now a Catholic country; "I doubt whether there are still in France eight million Roman Catholics—whether Catholic by conviction or Catholic in politics—including women and children." The opponents of the Church do not use violence: they persecute by granting liberties.

'The Fourth of July in America' is a startling article on the way in which Independence Day is celebrated. One hundred and sixty deaths and four hundred injuries (from the loss of a finger to the loss of sight) occur annually. Half the deaths occur from a special form of tetanus; there were formerly four hundred but in 1904 the use of antitoxin produced a great diminution. This does not include the effect on the sick, which must be great. Endeavours are being made

to have a "noiseless Fourth"; but the movement has not met with much encouragement.

Mr. F. Mead, a Metropolitan magistrate discusses criminal appeals. He thinks the present cry may be satisfied by an assimilation in this respect of criminal to civil procedure. His suggestions are as follows:

The appeal on questions of fact to remain as at present to the Home Secretary, who should have the power to have his decisions recorded in proper form. The Crown to have no right of appeal. The prisoner not to require the permission of the Court below to appeal, but to have the right to appeal on a point of law or because of mismanagement of the trial by the judge, irregularity in the trial, or discovery of fresh evidence. He could appeal against excessive sentence but the Court of Appeal could in that case enhance it. The Court of Appeal to be the Court for Crown Cases Reserved.

THE July *Fortnightly* has two or three articles on domestic and imperial politics, of which the most suggestive, 'The Slate Again,' is an attack on the present Government for its fidelity to the inveterate official Liberal habit of 'dishing its own supporters.' Failure to solve the Chinese Labour question, and to settle the national system of education, is bound to alienate many of those whose votes returned them to power at the last election. Their capitulation over the Trades Disputes Bill showed at once their lack of sympathy with organized labour, and their pliancy under pressure. Still they try the device of 'The Slate'—a long list of proposed reforms, none likely to be carried, to win support for the measure that heads the list. But the electorate must see through the device; and unless the Government mend their ways, it will fare ill with them at the polls. 'The Vital Question' is a plea by Sir R. Blennerhassett for the consolidation of the British Empire by the formation of a representative Council in London, etc. Of course, Protection is the moral set forth; and there are the usual question-begging phrases about tariffs, together with suggestions based on the unification of Germany and of Italy. 'Miss Billington' reviews 'Suffragist Tactics, Past and Present,' and insists that the more violent methods of recent advocates have given a reality, a practical bearing, to the Women's Suffrage question, which the old policy of quiet persuasion and good behaviour had brought into contempt, as an academic reform to be supported with studied professions of sympathy but ignored or flouted in the Houses of Parliament. "Rebellion gives the only possibility, the only probability, the only certainty, of that freedom of self and power of service which the women of the nation seek."

Closely connected with these interests are the following articles. (*a*) 'The Hedda Gabler of To-day,' which ingeniously traces the development of the type of woman to the invention of machinery, which by depriving woman of her time-honoured avocations has driven her into morbidly neurotic and introspective ways; her deliverance is to be effected by opening to her the avenues to those practical activities which keep men sane; the woman of the future will be in a new sense the comrade and the helpmeet of man. (*b*) 'A Plea for the the Small Yeoman,' advocating the rehabilitation of agriculture by building up a class of small holdings, intermediate between the large farms and the allotments of the present, so as to weld together the truly agricultural population, at present too sharply divided into farmers and labourers; this to be facilitated by national help, by county organization, by agricultural banks to give the small farmer the advantage of credit, and co-operative effort. (*c*) 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Middle Classes,' which points out the acute miseries of the 'out-of-work' in the higher walks of life, as distinguished from his congener in the labouring classes, and points to forestry as a possible outlet for industrious energy. (*d*) 'Dr. Beattie Crozier as an Economist.' The claim of the author to have made a Copernican revolution in economics is repudiated; but he is commended for his main contentions—'that production and consumption are inseparable parts of the same continuous process; that in machinery no less than in land the

forces of nature are the true productive agent......and that profits and interest go to the few who alone can control their sources.'

Foreign Politics are the subject of a 'Chronique,' the main thesis of which is that the most important event of recent months is the re-establishment of autocracy in Russia by the dissolution of the Second Duma and the revision of the electoral law. Journalists are admonished not to let this prejudice the possible understanding with Russia; and warned (*à propos* of the visit to Berlin) not to play into the hands of Germany by doing anything to loosen the bonds of the *entente*. The importance of the triple agreement between Britain, France, and Spain, is indicated; and a note on the Austrian Elections, with the evident determination of the most powerful parties to maintain the union of the Hapsburg dominions, is added. 'The Entente between Holland and Belgium' discusses (with the interest of sympathy) the possibility of a defensive alliance between the two powers named, which would be the best possible guarantee of their integrity. Alone, either of them might be 'rushed' by an unscrupulous and hostile neighbour; in conjunction, they could ward off a surprise long enough to enable their friends to rally to their aid. Needless to say, danger is more likely to come from Germany than any other quarter; and this Britain should mark. 'The Austrian Elections', by Count Lützow, does more to throw light on the new electoral basis, and the balance and conflict of parties, in Austria than anything we have yet read. The outcome of recent events, and their effect on the cohesion of the Dual Monarchy, will be a subject of attentive interest. 'The Problem of the West Indies' boldly suggests that those islands should be ceded to the United States in exchange for the Philippines —a bargain which it is alleged would free each Power from responsibility for a dependency to which it cannot possibly do justice, and which is only a source of weakness, and give it in return a possession which would appropriately round off its present empire, and speedily prove an item of added strength; in a word, a bargain to the interests of all four parties concerned. 'Alfred Deakin' is the subject of a eulogistic article, which rather loses in point from its vagueness. It refers, without any attempt at explanation, to events of domestic politics in Australia with which English readers hardly can be familiar. It is the obvious admiration of the writer, rather than the case he states, that suggests any idea of Mr. Deakin as a hero.

Mr. David Balsillie discusses 'Mr. R.J. Campbell and the New Theology' from the standpoint of extreme idealism. His criticism reveals some of the inconsistencies of Mr. Campbell's position, and invalidates his conclusions; at the same time he confesses the futility of seeking from any philosophical system satisfaction for the religious consciousness. He pleads for a simpler, more comprehensive propagation of the practical, moral ideals of Jesus, in which (as he rightly urges) the national church ought to lead the way.

The number includes a further instalment of 'The Stooping Lady,' and some verses by Douglas Ainslie called 'Sapphics.' The reader may form his own opinion of their poetic and imaginative value; but, be that great or small, they are not *Sapphics*.

COLLEGE NOTES.

It will be remembered that last month we intimated that the 'College Day Committee' had received over Rs. 1,000 of the Rs. 3,000 wanted to replace the Permanent Fund lost in the Arbuthnot insol-

vency. The following list of the subscriptions received up to July 13th was sent to us last month, too late for publication:

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Rev. Dr. Miller	300	0	0
2.	Mr. P. R. Sundara Iyer	200	0	0
3.	,, T. Ramakrishna Pillai	100	0	0
4.	Dr. S. Rungacharriar, M.B.C.M. and brothers ...	100	0	0
5.	Rev. A. Moffat	30	0	0
6.	,, George Pittendrigh	30	0	0
7.	Mr. A. G. Hogg	25	0	0
8.	,, N. Subba Rau Pantulu	25	0	0
9.	Rev. J. M. Russell	20	0	0
10.	Mr. P. Ramachandra Rau...	20	0	0
11.	Mr. Ahmed Hussain Saib Bahadur, (first subscription)	20	0	0
12.	,, S. Rungiah Chetti	20	0	0
13.	Rev. E. M. Macphail	20	0	0
14.	Mr. K. Chandy	15	0	0
15.	,, S. Gopalaswami Iyengar	15	0	0
16.	Rev. W. Skinner	15	0	0
17.	Messrs. P. Rajarathna Mudaliar and P. Ramanatha Mudaliar (first payment)	15	0	0
18.	Mr. Daniel Lazarus	10	0	0
19.	,, V. Radakrishna Iyer	10	0	0
20.	,, M. Venkatasubba Rau	10	0	0
21.	,, K. Ramanatha Shenai	10	0	0
22.	,, K. Seshu Iyer	10	0	0
23.	,, P. Pareathambi Mudaliar	10	0	0
24.	,, M. Vijiya Raghavulu Pillai	10	0	0
25.	,, S. Vishakantiya	10	0	0
	Sums under ten rupees	79	0	0
	Total ...	1,129	0	0

To this list may now be added the following particulars of further subscriptions received up to August 19th:—

		Rs.	A.	P.
26.	Mr. K. Venkataramaiya	25	0	0
27.	Messrs. P. Rajarathna Mudaliar and P. Ramanatha Mudaliar (second payment)	15	0	0
	Sums under ten rupees	40	0	0
	Total ...	1,209	0	0

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